

THE EXPERIENCE OF CRUSADING

The study of the crusades is one of the most thriving areas of medieval history. This collection of seventeen essays by leading researchers in the field reflects the best of contemporary scholarship.

The subjects handled are remarkably wide-ranging, focusing on the theory and practice of crusading and the contributions which were made by the military orders. Chronologically, the essays range from the church's approach towards warfare in the pre-crusade era, to the way in which the First Crusade has been depicted in post-war fiction.

Together with its companion volume, *The Experience of Crusading*, volume II: *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, edited by Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, this collection has been published to celebrate the sixty-fifth birthday of Jonathan Riley-Smith, the leading British historian of the crusades. The volume includes an appreciation of his work on the crusades and on the military orders.

MARCUS BULL is Senior Lecturer in History, University of Bristol

NORMAN HOUSLEY is Professor of History, University of Leicester



Jonathan Riley-Smith, portrait by Crispin Thornton-Jones on the occasion of Jonathan's fiftieth birthday in 1988.

THE EXPERIENCE OF CRUSADING

Volume One

Western Approaches

EDITED BY

MARCUS BULL AND NORMAN HOUSLEY



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 2003

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2003

Typeface Adobe Garamond 11/12.5 pt System BTEX 2E [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

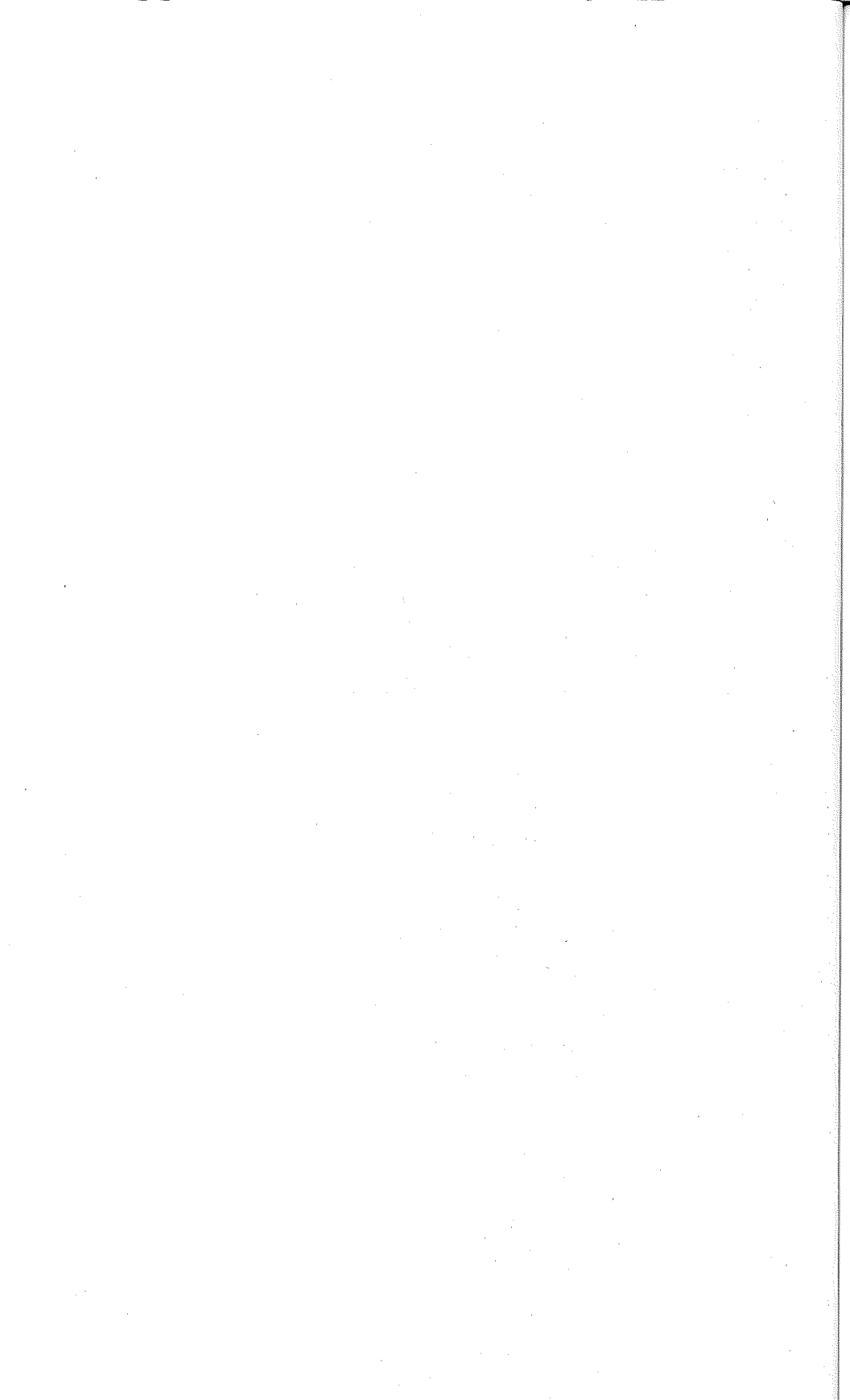
ISBN 0 521 81168 6 hardback

Transferred to digital printing 2004



3329

*Presented to Jonathan Riley-Smith on his
sixty-fifth birthday*



Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page x
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiv

Jonathan Riley-Smith, the crusades and the military orders: an appreciation	I
<i>Norman Housley, with Marcus Bull</i>	

PART ONE THE CRUSADES AND CRUSADING

1 Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations	13
<i>Marcus Bull</i>	
2 A further note on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147	39
<i>Giles Constable</i>	
3 Costing the crusade: budgeting for crusading activity in the fourteenth century	45
<i>Norman Housley</i>	
4 The crusading motivation of the Italian city republics in the Latin East, 1096–1104	60
<i>Christopher Marshall</i>	
5 Odo of Deuil's <i>De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem</i> as a source for the Second Crusade	80
<i>Jonathan Phillips</i>	

6	Innocent III and Alexius III: a crusade plan that failed <i>James M. Powell</i>	96
7	The Venetian fleet for the Fourth Crusade and the diversion of the crusade to Constantinople <i>John H. Pryor</i>	103
PART TWO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CRUSADE		
8	The conquest of Jerusalem: Joachim of Fiore and the Jews <i>Anna Sapir Abulafia</i>	127
9	Crusades, clerics and violence: reflections on a canonical theme <i>James A. Brundage</i>	147
10	Humbert of Romans and the crusade <i>Penny J. Cole</i>	157
11	Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading <i>H. E. J. Cowdrey</i>	175
12	Holy war and holy men: Erdmann and the lives of the saints <i>John France</i>	193
13	The <i>bible moralisée</i> and the crusades <i>Christoph T. Maier</i>	209
PART THREE THE MILITARY ORDERS		
14	The Hospitallers in twelfth-century Constantinople <i>Anthony Luttrell</i>	225
15	Serving king and crusade: the military orders in royal service in Ireland, 1220–1400 <i>Helen Nicholson</i>	233
PART FOUR RETROSPECTIVE		
16	The First Crusade in post-war fiction <i>Susan Edgington</i>	255

Contents

ix

17	Nineteenth-century perspectives of the First Crusade <i>Elizabeth Siberry</i>	281
----	--	-----

	<i>Index</i>	294
--	--------------	-----

Illustrations

Jonathan Riley-Smith, portrait by Crispin Thornton-Jones *frontispiece*

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1 MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fol. 4r. Photo: Bildarchiv, ÖNB, Vienna. | <i>page</i> 213 |
| 2 MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fol. 38r. Photo: Bildarchiv, ÖNB, Vienna. | 217 |
| 3 MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fol. 40v. Photo: Bildarchiv, ÖNB, Vienna. | 220 |

(The photographs are reproduced by kind permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.)

MAPS

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 The voyage of the Fourth Crusade. © John H. Pryor, 2001. | 104 |
| 2 The Nile delta c. 1200, with mean average barometric pressure and wind directions in July. © John H. Pryor, 2001. | 120 |

TABLE

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1 Roles played by brothers of the military orders in the English royal administration in Ireland, 1200–1399. | 252 |
|--|-----|

Notes on contributors

- ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA is a Fellow of Lucy Cavendish College at the University of Cambridge
- JAMES A. BRUNDAGE is Professor Emeritus at the University of Kansas
- MARCUS BULL is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Bristol
- PENNY J. COLE is Lecturer in Mediaeval Ecclesiastical History at Trinity College in the University of Toronto
- GILES CONSTABLE is Professor of History at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton
- H. E. J. COWDREY is an Emeritus Fellow of St Edmund Hall at the University of Oxford
- SUSAN EDGINGTON was formerly a Lecturer at Huntingdonshire Regional College and is now a writer
- JOHN FRANCE is Professor in the Department of History at the University of Wales, Swansea
- NORMAN HOUSLEY is Professor in the Department of History at the University of Leicester
- ANTHONY LUTTRELL is an independent scholar
- CHRISTOPH T. MAIER teaches Medieval History in the Department of History at the University of Zurich
- CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL is an independent scholar
- HELEN NICHOLSON is Senior Lecturer in the School of History and Archaeology at Cardiff University, Wales

JONATHAN PHILLIPS is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at Royal Holloway College, University of London

JAMES M. POWELL is Professor Emeritus at Syracuse University, New York

JOHN H. PRYOR is Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Sydney

ELIZABETH SIBERRY is an independent scholar

Acknowledgements

The editors are grateful to William Davies for his encouragement and advice throughout the planning and publication of this work. They would also like to thank the anonymous readers of Cambridge University Press for their contribution towards the shape which the two volumes have assumed, and Louise Riley-Smith for arranging the reproduction of the portrait of Jonathan by Crispin Thornton-Jones.

Abbreviations

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AESC</i>	<i>Annales: Économies Sociétés Civilisations</i>
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient Latin</i>
<i>APC</i>	<i>Autour de la première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East</i> , ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996)
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>Cart.</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)</i> , ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906)
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>CMTCS</i>	<i>Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria</i> , ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993)
<i>CS</i>	<i>Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail</i> , ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985)
<i>DA</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>FCOI</i>	<i>The First Crusade: Origins and Impact</i> , ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997)
<i>Hattin</i>	<i>The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East</i> , ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992)

HC	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. K. M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison, 1969–89)
HJ	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
HZ	<i>Historisches Zeitschrift</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
MA	<i>Le Moyen Âge</i>
MAHEFR	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome</i>
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. G. D. Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759–98)
MEFR	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz <i>et al.</i> (Hanover, 1826–)
MGHS	<i>MGH Scriptores</i>
MO, I	<i>The Military Orders, volume 1: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994)
MO, II	<i>The Military Orders, volume II: Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998)
Outremer	<i>Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer</i> , ed. B. Z. Kedar, H.-E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982)
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 217 vols. plus indexes (Paris, 1844–64)
PPTS	<i>Palestine Pilgrims Text Society</i>
QSGDO	<i>Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens</i>
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i> , ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 14 vols. (Paris, 1841–1906)
RHC arm.	<i>RHC Documents arméniens</i>
RHC Lois	<i>RHC Lois. Les assises de Jérusalem</i>
RHC Oc.	<i>RHC Historiens Occidentaux</i>
RHC Or.	<i>RHC Historiens Orientaux</i>
RHGF	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet <i>et al.</i> , 24 vols. (Paris, 1737–1904)
RIS	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> , ed. L. A. Muratori, 25 vols. (Milan, 1723–38)
RISNS	<i>RIS Nova Series</i> , ed. G. Carducci <i>et al.</i> (Città di Castello, 1900–)
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i>

<i>RRH</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani</i> , comp. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893, <i>Addimenta</i> 1904)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Rolls Series: The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages</i> (London, 1858–)
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>WT</i>	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986)
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins</i>

Jonathan Riley-Smith, the crusades and the military orders: an appreciation

Norman Housley, with Marcus Bull

Jonathan Riley-Smith has always had an unusually broad range of research interests, encompassing not just the crusades and the military orders, but also the history of the states which the crusaders established in Palestine and Syria. This appreciation will focus on Jonathan's contributions to the study of crusading and the military orders, above all the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, more commonly known as the Hospitallers or Knights Hospitaller. Between them these two areas of research also comprise a third: an interest in the practice of sacred violence, the theory and circumstances which caused Catholics in the Middle Ages to believe that their warfare, whether conducted as crusaders or as professed members of a religious order, was bound up with God's will, mediated through the church.

Jonathan's publishing career began in style, with the publication in 1967 by Macmillan of *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050–1310*. Of very few medieval historians can it be said that they wrote a 553-page study of a major medieval corporation while still in their late twenties; and the achievement is the greater when one reflects that more than three decades after its publication the book remains the definitive account of the first two centuries of the order's existence. Jonathan would undoubtedly want to attribute some of the credit to three other historians of the crusades and the military orders. The first was J. Delaville Le Roulx, the nineteenth-century French scholar whose *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)* Jonathan described as 'a monument of patient scholarship that must command the gratitude of every student of the Crusades'. Secondly, there was R. C. ('Otto') Smail, the Cambridge historian of the crusades who proposed the Hospitallers as a PhD subject, and induced in Jonathan habits of rigorous *Quellenkritik*.¹ And thirdly there was Lionel Butler, general editor of the planned multi-volume history of

¹ In *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), which he dedicated to Smail, Jonathan described him as 'the historian to whom I owe most'.

the Order of St John of which Jonathan's book was the first volume. To the lasting regret of historians of the military orders, the rest of Butler's series failed to materialize, and Jonathan's volume stands alone.

Naturally the study of the early Hospitallers took Jonathan in two distinctive directions. A comprehensive account of the order would have to explain both its internal structure and machinery of government, and the place which it occupied within the framework of the medieval church. These were complex and technical matters and they occupied six substantial chapters of the book. Given the limited amount of research which had been conducted at this point into the life of the order outside Latin Syria, the emphasis was naturally on the Convent's affairs and on its attempt to extract the resources needed for its work in the east. This emphasis on the Convent was strengthened by the fact that the order was a great landowner in Latin Syria, and the brethren's management of their land there was surveyed in two chapters. In a remarkable appendix Jonathan was able to map the location of the majority of the order's holdings from Edessa and Armenia in the north to the Dead Sea in the south. Most of them he had himself visited.

This analysis of structure and landowning occupies rather more than half of *The Knights of St John*. The remainder of the book deals with the Hospitallers' political and military activities in Latin Syria. Like all military orders, the Knights of St John could not be detached from the area where they conducted their warfare: indeed, in this case the growing military needs of the Franks in the Holy Land exercised a decisive impact on the development of the order by bringing about its militarization in the middle decades of the twelfth century. It was necessary therefore to give a fairly detailed account of the role which the Hospitallers played in the internal politics of the Latin East, and in its defence against the Muslims, between the order's foundation and the flight of the brethren to Cyprus after the fall of Acre in 1291. In contrast to the comparatively meagre historiography of the order's internal life, this aspect had always attracted a good deal of comment. Broadly speaking, scholars were divided into two camps. Some, including of course the order's own historians, gave the military orders unqualified praise for the invaluable support which they brought the Latin East, effectively enabling it to survive when other resources were sparse and crusaders failed to appear. Others criticized the orders for being 'states within a state', self-interested and politically destructive. Jonathan refused to take sides, concluding his study with a judgement which was nuanced and balanced. The order was less powerful than outsiders believed. As in the case of all medieval corporations, close inspection revealed that it was

ramshackle and corrupt, and this limited its ability to exercise either a positive or a negative impact on affairs. Yet circumstances in the Latin East, especially after 1187, meant that it was bound to play a large role, for good and ill, in every significant development that occurred.

In *The Knights of St John* the essential features of Jonathan's approach to historical research and writing, the 'Riley-Smith touch', are already present. First and foremost there is a thoroughgoing familiarity with the sources, the advancing of arguments which nowhere depart from evidential support. The arguments themselves are expressed sparsely and clearly, and they spring from the belief that the subject being communicated has an inherent fascination which made a synthetic elegance redundant. Jonathan's style reminds one of Jan Sibelius's comment, apropos of his Fourth Symphony, that while others offered rich cocktails he offered pure spring water. At the same time, however, it is manifest that the author has empathy for the people he is studying. Because of the sensitivity of Jonathan's field of research, this is easily and sadly misunderstood. Although himself a Catholic, and a Knight of both the Sovereign Military Order of Malta and the Most Venerable Order of St John, Jonathan does not engage in *parti pris* on behalf of the Hospitallers, the Franks who settled in the east, or indeed the crusaders. But his reconstruction of the past is driven by the intensity of his interest in the inner life and core beliefs of individuals and groups. There is a process of imaginative engagement at work which is always earthed by Jonathan's professionalism, but plays a large part in yielding some of his richest insights and observations.

For several years after the publication of *The Knights of St John* Jonathan was absorbed by the legal and political history of the Latin East, but there were more than enough clues in his first book that he would turn at some point to crusading. Nobody who was interested in the pattern of ideas which underpinned the military orders could ignore the crusades, because the ideological roots of both were so similar. In the introduction to his book Jonathan felt it necessary to provide a working definition of the crusade. He approached this task with trepidation, as if it was something about which he was not yet certain in his own mind: 'some definition of the Crusade itself must now be attempted'. On the last page of *The Knights of St John* he signalled a train of thought which would later give rise to one of his most influential articles, when he described the crusading ideal as a 'mixture of charity and pugnacity'. By the early 1970s he was giving crusading a good deal of attention in both his teaching and reading, and in 1977 Macmillan published *What Were the Crusades?* The book originated in Jonathan's dissatisfaction with the traditional view of the crusades as the

series of expeditions dispatched eastwards between 1095 and the late thirteenth century to conquer and defend the Holy Land. It was a viewpoint created in the nineteenth century when the same small group of scholars studied both the crusades and the Latin East. Their interest in crusading was focused strongly on what happened to the armies when they were in the field; initiation, recruitment and organization were on the whole not their forte. By adopting this approach, and in particular by numbering the expeditions, they had placed study of the crusades within a conceptual strait-jacket. It was an unusually comfortable one to the extent that it made the subject manageable and comprehensible, as Steven Runciman's three-volume *A History of the Crusades* had recently shown. But increasingly scholars had come to see it as intellectually weak, at odds with much of the evidence which they studied, above all the views of contemporaries on what sort of exercise it was that crusaders were engaged on. Amongst other problems, there were military expeditions elsewhere than in the eastern Mediterranean which had an awkward amount in common with those which went to the Holy Land; there was much warfare which took place after 1291 which raised the same difficulty; and there were large groups of fighters who took the cross and went to the east outside the framework of the numbered crusades.

The question of definition was ripe for addressing in 1977. A few years previously Hans Eberhard Mayer had famously concluded a largely traditional account of the crusades with a call for those who disagreed with his approach to propose an alternative definition. 'The Gordian knot must be cut. Only if those who disagree with the definition given here are prepared to state their own view equally unambiguously can there be any hope of meeting somewhere in the middle. But as things are at present enormous amounts of time and energy are being expended on research into the Crusades without there being any agreement as to just what the Crusades were. This state of affairs is surely indefensible.' Jonathan's response was typically forthright. At the end of his short book (just ninety-two pages long) he offered a clear definition of the crusade. It was a particular form of Christian holy war characterized by its identification with the needs of the church, functioning mystically as Christ's bride and sacramentally as the dispenser of his grace. It could be recognized through the taking of a distinctive vow derived from the pilgrimage tradition, by the pervasive symbol of Christ's cross, and by the bestowal on participants of the crusader's indulgence. It was a form of holy war which was by no means restricted to the Holy Land or to the Latin East. Crusaders fought the Moors in Iberia, the pagan Slavs in the Baltic region, and Christian heretics, schismatics

and rebellious lay powers. People took the cross long after the Holy Land had fallen to the Muslims: for just how long it was currently impossible to say. In contrast to Hans Mayer, who had queried the volume of research which was being conducted because of the prevailing methodological discord, Jonathan concluded his book by suggesting that research should be conducted into individuals taking the cross as late as the eighteenth century.

Some years later Norman Housley dubbed this broad-based, inclusive definition of crusading 'the pluralist approach', and at a conference in Spain in 2001 Jonathan commented: 'I cannot begin to describe how exciting it was trying to work out an intellectual basis for pluralism, the sense of security one felt at having reached what seemed to be a working definition which made sense of the crusading movement and the exhilaration of seeing a vast panorama in space and in time opening up before one.'² As he went on to remark, in the course of time interpretative problems emerged in relation to the pluralist approach just as they had in the case of the older, traditional one. It was, after all, a methodology not a credo. In the years following *What Were the Crusades?*, however, Jonathan published a spate of books which examined the crusades from the new perspective which he had set out. Taken together, they had the beneficial effect of transferring the pluralist approach from the study into the classroom. *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274*, which he co-edited in 1981 with his wife Louise for Edward Arnold, provided a range of translated sources illuminating the crusades. The sources chosen for translation show clearly what aspects of crusading Jonathan found particularly intriguing: the theological and juridical interpretation of what crusading meant; the preaching, recruitment and financing of crusades; the hopes and fears of crusaders themselves as reflected in their legal settlements, visions and wills. *The Crusades: A Short History* (London: Athlone, 1987), was a remarkably ambitious book, for Jonathan not only surveyed all the areas of conflict for which crusades were preached in the Central Middle Ages, but took the subject into the sixteenth century and beyond. It was the first time that a modern scholar had attempted to describe the full range of crusading.

The pluralist approach also informed two important collaborative ventures managed and edited by Jonathan in the early 1990s. In *The Atlas of the Crusades*, which he edited in 1991 for Times Books, contributions

² 'The Future of Studies on the Crusades and the Military Orders', at the Third International Conference: Half a Century of Studies on Crusades and Military Orders, 1951–2001, Teruel, July 2001. The proceedings are in course of publication by the conference organizer, Dr Luis García-Guijarro Ramos.

by twenty-one scholars were brought together, the result proving to be an invaluable cartographic resource for teaching the crusades from the First Crusade through to the naval operations of the Knights of St John in the Mediterranean in the eighteenth century. And in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford University Press, 1995) a team of twelve scholars assembled by Jonathan presented an overview of the subject in which the richness of the visual material, one of the great joys of crusading studies, was brought to the foreground. *The Illustrated History* proved particularly successful as a means of communicating, in accessible form, the most up-to-date research on the crusades, the military orders and the Latin East. Jonathan himself wrote three chapters, including a pioneering analysis of the state of mind of crusaders to the east between 1095 and 1300.

One of the aspects of crusading which has proved most fascinating to Jonathan has long been that of the ethical considerations which it involved. The article 'Crusading as an Act of Love', his 1979 inaugural lecture at Royal Holloway College, published in *History* in 1980, showed his interest in the way early Christian views on violence as charity, especially St Augustine's, were carried into crusading ideology, sitting uneasily alongside less sophisticated ways of thought, such as those incorporating vendetta and family honour. This and other studies led him quite naturally in the direction of the First Crusade.³ *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone, 1986) was a re-examination of the origins and immediate impact of the First Crusade. As Jonathan stated at the start of his introduction, he was engaging in a critique of the views put forward in 1935 by the German scholar Carl Erdmann in his classic study, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*. Erdmann believed that the crusading idea was 'born' at a specific time and place, the council of Clermont in November 1095, when Pope Urban II effected a synthesis of a cluster of existing ideas and practices, notably holy war, pilgrimage and the indulgence. In sharp contrast, Jonathan shifted the emphasis to events which happened once the council of Clermont had ended, during the preaching of Urban's message, in the course of the crusaders' arduous march eastwards to Jerusalem, during the crusade of 1101, and finally in the way in which the First Crusade was interpreted by its earliest historians. What emerged from his study was

³ For example, 'An Approach to Crusading Ethics', *Reading Medieval Studies* 6 (1980), 3-19; 'The First Crusade and St Peter', in *Outremer*, pp. 41-63; 'The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine', *EHR* 98 (1983), 721-36; 'Death on the First Crusade', in *The End of Strife*, ed. D. M. Loades (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 14-31; 'The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews', *SCH* 21 (1984), 51-72; 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124', in *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 337-50.

a remarkably heterogeneous and volatile ideology. At one extreme it was powerfully shaped by the expectations of the laity, above all the nobility, and by the experiences of the crusaders; and at the other it was subjected to the theologically advanced views of the church's intellectual elite.

The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading was based on a systematic reading of all the primary sources for the First Crusade, in particular chronicles and letters. But Jonathan also consulted a fair number of monastic cartularies. In these cartularies he and others were beginning to detect a highly promising and neglected tranche of material. There was no doubt that they posed problems. These included their erratic rates of survival, uneven geographical distribution, and heterogeneous form and content. Clearly they could only reflect the views of those who had property to bestow on religious houses; and the extent to which they actually portray the thinking of benefactors, as opposed to recipients or scribes, remains a subject of debate. But when all was said and done, the charters offered extraordinary insights into the thinking not just of monks but also of their noble patrons in eleventh-century France. At the same time Jonathan was coming across the names of many men and women who went on the First Crusade and settled in the Latin East during its early years, yet were not mentioned in the more familiar sources. It became clear that a prosopographical system was needed for logging the details of these individuals and revealing their family ties, and in 1987 Dr F. G. Kingston of Royal Holloway and Bedford New College devised a relational database using the software package *Oracle*. For several years Jonathan worked his way through a very large number of published cartularies, steadily building up this database. By the mid-1990s his database was extensive. For the period up to 1131 it comprised 549 men and women who definitely took the cross, 110 who probably and 132 who possibly did so. There were also 697 settlers in Palestine and Syria. This was enough to support a fresh study of the First Crusade which would be largely based on the database and the documentary sources which lay behind it.

The potential of Jonathan's database first became apparent in a short paper on family traditions in the Second Crusade which was published in 1992.⁴ Its major outcome, however, was one of Jonathan's finest books, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). In it he

⁴ 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 101–9. See also 'Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading 1095–1130', in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Goodich, S. Menache and S. Schein (New York, 1995), pp. 237–57.

returned to some of the issues which he had explored in *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, but the analysis was enormously enriched by the new evidence available to him. Throughout, the book is characterized by an infectious exhilaration at the revelations which it has to offer. Above all, and thanks largely to the database, *The First Crusaders* is the most acute and informative study to date of how families reacted to the preaching of the crusade. This is a crucially important field of enquiry because, as Jonathan remarked, 'Crusading relied to a peculiar degree on a combination of individual spontaneity and collective collaboration.' Indeed, 'without the support of the groups at home with which crusaders were associated few promises to undertake something so demanding and expensive could have been fulfilled'. The careers of individual crusaders are traced and compared at an unprecedented depth of analysis all the way from their initial response to the preaching of the First Crusade, to their eventual return from the east.

As a result, Jonathan's analysis has important lessons for the study of the aristocracy in general, and particularly in France, where the single largest number of first crusaders originated. With a few notable exceptions, the regional studies of medieval French society which have been in vogue since Georges Duby's pioneering work on the Mâconnais appeared in 1953 have tended to marginalize the significance of crusading, if they mention it at all. This is surprising given that charter evidence forms the staple resource for these works, and many of the aristocratic families that they study are, as Jonathan has now revealed, precisely those that were caught up in crusade enthusiasm and traditions. Many recent treatments of aristocratic culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, drawing substantially on the regionalist scholarship, remain curiously old-fashioned in their approaches to crusading motivation and practice. *The First Crusaders* will do much to encourage more integrative approaches, for it opens up many important vistas on aristocratic life in general and the experiences of particular individuals and groupings. For example, in the book's final chapter, Jonathan demonstrated how one kinship group, the Montlhérys, pursued a strategy of family aggrandizement which came very close to establishing a control over crusading in the east in the early twelfth century.

By 1997 Jonathan had dedicated two books and many articles to the study of the First Crusade, enhancing our understanding of it to a remarkable degree. His grasp of what impelled and sustained the first crusaders through their ordeals was as convincing as a thoroughgoing knowledge of the sources, the deployment of information technology, and many years of reflection and debate, could bestow. This made his heartfelt comments at the end of the introduction all the more telling. Returning to the 'mixture of

charity and pugnacity' which he had first described thirty years previously, and which he had now analysed on several occasions, Jonathan acknowledged that all our efforts to grasp the way of thinking of the early crusaders must fail because we could not recreate in our minds their 'bleak, obsessed, savage and exceptionally religious world'. As he put it,

Their priorities often seem alien to us, and the movement in which they engaged madness, because the basic religious elements common to Christians in any age were transformed in their case by adaptation to a society in which lordship, honour, family solidarity expressing itself at times in vendettas, reputation and commitment to extravagant social generosity played powerful parts. I do not suppose that I am alone in finding it very hard to stretch my mind to encompass the amalgam of piety and violence, of love and hate, which was characteristic of their response to the call to arms.

One could sympathize with his frustration, while at the same time feeling that his own study, rich in insight and packed with vivid detail, brought the reader into close proximity to this lost world, even if its full understanding eludes us.

While working on the First Crusade, Jonathan picked up the threads of his early work on the Hospitallers. The context for this was one of the most unpredictable developments to occur in medieval history in the 1990s: the resurgence of interest, at an international level, in the history of the military orders. Jonathan chaired a committee which organized a highly successful conference on the military orders at the Museum of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, in 1992. The proceedings (edited by Malcolm Barber) comprised forty-one papers, and a second conference held four years later yielded a volume (edited by Helen Nicholson) of thirty-three papers. A third conference was held in 2000. This renaissance in scholarly interest was reflected in curiosity about the orders among the general public, so it was not surprising that in 1999 Jonathan wrote *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John* for Hambledon, a general history of the order which made good use of its rich visual material. He also started to look afresh at the most infamous event in the history of the military orders, the trial of the Knights Templar (1307–14).

No account of Jonathan's contribution to the crusades and the military orders would be complete without at least a mention of the formidable role which he has played as teacher and energizer. At St Andrews, Cambridge and London he has supervised numerous PhD students: indeed, it is hard to believe that any medieval historian of his generation has taught more. In his preface to *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* Jonathan

commented on 'the phenomenal rise in the number of British Crusade scholars since the early 1950s', modestly omitting to mention that a large proportion of them are his former pupils. It was no accident that the history of the crusades was one of the fields specifically mentioned by the History Panel in the 2001 Research Assessment Exercise for the distinctive quality of the work produced by UK scholars. Jonathan's crusades seminar at Cambridge and London has achieved a continuity and a rigour of debate that very few seminars can match. He played a large part in the establishment in 1980 of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, which brought together scholars across the world who work on the crusades and the military orders. Since 1983 the SSCLE has held quadrennial conferences, each giving rise to a volume of proceedings. Much more could be said on these and similar aspects of Jonathan's professional life; but the purpose of this preface is to celebrate Jonathan's own writings. There has been no area of crusading studies, or of the history of the military orders, that he has not illuminated. Nor is this true solely of the English-speaking world: translations of his books are numerous. We must hope that he will keep the translators, copy-editors and printers busy for years to come.

PART ONE

The crusades and crusading

CHAPTER I

Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations

Marcus Bull

As much of Jonathan Riley-Smith's work has demonstrated, analysis of the First Crusade is central to the study of crusading in general. This is so whether one's inclination is to see crusading as essentially an episodic sequence of clustered events or as a more sustained and transcendent cultural quantity.¹ The manner in which one constructs the First Crusade effectively functions as the organon for any understanding of subsequent crusade-related thought and action. A key aspect of scholarly inquiry into the First Crusade, as much of Jonathan's work has demonstrated, is the investigation into its participants' ideas, the motivations that bridged the gap between the crusade as a suggestion and the crusade as a played-out event.² This essay begins by offering some reflections on the importance of the subject of motivation, arguing that to select this topic for analysis is not just to recognize that it has an immediate interest today given our own awareness of its importance in historical explanation: the issue of what motivated crusaders is also embedded within the discourses of the principal source types available to historians of the First Crusade. With this in mind, the second half of the essay explores the potential of one particular type of text, the miracle story, in the context of developing our understanding of the cultural assumptions and cognitive habits that turned numerous members of late eleventh-century western European society into something altogether new – crusaders.

The events of 1095–1101 are unusually well served by the surviving sources. The question why the First Crusade generated an exceptional amount of written evidence is perhaps more delicate than scholars

¹ See C. J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 1998), esp. pp. 8–29, a contentious attempt to revise the evolutionary model of explanation advanced in J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 1992).

² See esp. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986) and *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997). Earlier work on the same theme, modified by the later books, is represented by 'The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Palestine', *EHR* 98 (1983), 721–36.

sometimes realize, for the answers are connected to the attempts by contemporaries themselves to identify meanings that could attach to their experience. To write about the crusade was not simply to register its existence, but also to frame formal understandings that discarded what was judged irrelevant, excluded counter-interpretations, tidied up loose ends, and worked towards some form of closure. Among the surviving sources, two types in particular have assumed a fundamental importance in recent scholarly investigation. Both are genres that Jonathan Riley-Smith himself has done a great deal to exploit and reinterpret. First there are the charters (a term that is useful shorthand for a wide range of diplomatic forms in a period of little standardization). The work done on these sources by Jonathan, as well as by Giles Constable, John Cowdrey and others, amounts to perhaps the single most significant expansion of the study of the early crusades in recent decades.³ One particularly important aspect of the charter record is that it is not simply about the externals of crusade participation such as names, financial arrangements and rituals of departure. Although it is a mine of useful information in these respects, it also bears directly on issues of intentionality by allowing significant space for expressions of crusaders' purposes. Even apparently neutral formulations such as 'Hierusalem iturus' in fact amount to a subtle shorthand for the mental states that rapidly became projected onto and subsumed within the decision to crusade.⁴ Charters, in other words, demonstrate how issues of motivation could be central to the production of the record at source.

The second principal element of the First Crusade's source base, is, of course, the unusually rich harvest of narrative sources.⁵ These comprise both texts that are specifically devoted to the crusade and others that are more wide-ranging narratives within which substantial portions deal with

³ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 2–5, 60–75, 111–34; and 'Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading 1095–1130', in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Goodich, S. Menache and S. Schein (New York, 1995), pp. 237–57; G. Constable, 'The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century', in *Outremer*, pp. 64–6, 70–88; and 'Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades', in *CS*, pp. 73–89; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970), 181–3. See also M. G. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970 – c. 1130* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 252–4, 259–61, 267–80; and 'The Diplomatic of the First Crusade', in *FCOI*, pp. 35–54.

⁴ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 60–75; Bull, 'Diplomatic', pp. 39–45.

⁵ An up-to-date treatment of crusade historiography is much needed. The lead offered by the suggestive but now dated L. Boehm, '"Gesta Dei per Francos" oder "Gesta Francorum"? – Die Kreuzztüge als historiographisches Problem', *Saeculum* 8 (1957), 43–81 has not been taken up in more recent scholarship. For a study that has wider methodological lessons, see V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzugs*, *Studia humaniora* 15 (Düsseldorf, 1990).

crusading.⁶ Moreover, a number of the surviving narratives were, as is well known, written by those who participated in the crusade in some capacity. These are typically referred to as 'eye-witness' accounts, a term so embedded in the crusade historian's lexicon that it tends to obscure how problematic it is on the basic level of what in fact is the nature of 'witness'. Nonetheless, the availability of participant narratives is an important aspect of the source repertoire: these texts occupy a useful generic middle ground between the closest we come to the crusaders speaking directly to us, through charters drafted when they set out on the crusade and letters written while they were on it, and the polished narratives composed by those whose aim was to insert what Jonathan Riley-Smith has aptly labelled 'theological refinement' into the memory of the crusade.⁷ In fact, it is easy for those who work on crusades to take 'eye-witness' narratives rather for granted: the First Crusade became the headspring of tradition that was to have a long and rich history. It is difficult to think of any comparable type of activity or sustained process that generated this quantity and quality of participatory record. The relationship between the doing of crusading and the writing of crusades, the dynamic between lived sequential experience and the narrativizing (sometimes near-simultaneous) of that experience, is something that scholars perhaps need to investigate more fully. For our immediate purposes, the important point to note is that through the narrative sources we again encounter a close relationship between crusading as an activity and crusading as a series of more or less ordered and coherent reflections which inevitably turn to matters of purpose and justification. This, in turn, highlights issues of motivation – issues which are never far from the surface even when the narratives are engaged in what superficially looks like neutral description. As is the case with the charters, therefore, to probe into issues of motivation is to work with the grain of the narrative source base.

The availability of a diverse but basically harmonious narrative record has had one important methodological consequence, in that historians are able to attempt a reconstruction of the First Crusade at a very unusual level of detail: witness the degree of precision in Heinrich Hagenmeyer's chronology of the First Crusade.⁸ Of course, there is an enormous amount

⁶ For a useful survey of the principal narratives, see R. Hiestand, 'Il cronista medievale e il suo pubblico: Alcune osservazioni in margine alla storiografia delle crociate', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 27 (1984–5), 207–27. See also S. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', in *FCOI*, pp. 55–77.

⁷ For the process of theological refinement, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 135–52.

⁸ H. Hagenmeyer, 'Chronologie de la première croisade 1094–1100', *ROL* 6 (1898), 214–93, 490–549; 7 (1899), 275–339, 430–503; 8 (1900–1), 318–82.

that could still be known about the First Crusade as it unfolded. But if one comes to the study of the crusade from looking at, say, western European societies earlier in the eleventh century, one is struck by the remarkable amount of available information and, thanks to crusading's reliance upon ritual and symbol, the potential for 'thick' description.⁹ One consequence of this opportunity is that perhaps too little scholarly attention has been paid to the narrative sources as cultural artefacts above and beyond their value as repositories of information contributing to the bigger macronarrative of the recreated crusade – the quantum that itself functions as the primary analytical object. One should ask how far some of our very deep-rooted assumptions about what made a crusade what it was are simply reinscriptions of the frames of reference developed by contemporary historiography. More fundamentally still, how far is the story that we make of crusading a reflection not of the experience itself – in so far as this was indeed something more than a formless mass of countless human actions – but of the narrativizing strategies that contemporaries themselves chose to apply? To pose this problem is not the same as suggesting that there was and is no such thing as the First Crusade beyond its textual representation.¹⁰ But it is also fair to say that the crusade's narrativity was in large measure as a cultural construct that has been appropriated or inherited by modern scholarship; it is not simply a corollary of the observation that certain types of collective activity such as military endeavours do indeed lend themselves to emplotment within a beginning-middle-end explanatory narrative framework.¹¹ When Jonathan Riley-Smith integrated what had usually been ring-fenced as 'The 1101 Crusade' within the larger scope of the First Crusade,¹² and when he applied prosopographical research to extend the chronological reach of the crusade a further three decades,¹³ these were important indications of the value of breaking out of traditional narrative paradigms. As people more than events come to operate as the principal bearers of meaning, a necessary corollary is that an understanding of individual and group consciousness, and by extension questions of perception and motivation, become particularly important parts of any comprehensive treatment of the crusade.

⁹ The term is taken, of course, from C. Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture', in his *The Interpretations of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 3–30.

¹⁰ For a recent reconstructionist application of the evidence, see J. France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994).

¹¹ For a useful introduction to debates about narrative in history, see the collected readings assembled in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. G. Roberts (London, 2001).

¹² *First Crusade*, pp. 120–34. ¹³ *First Crusaders*, pp. 169–88.

The interest that scholars show in the First Crusade is also linked to another important factor: the challenge posed by the fact that this was something that people were invited to do. This consideration as much as anything accounts for the lively tradition of scholarship on why people went on the crusade. It is very unusual for issues of motivation to arise involving such large numbers of people, for this is a goal of analysis that is typically geared to the study of individuals or of small groups whose more-or-less clearly articulated purposes function as common points of reference. The problems are particularly acute when we are faced by the wholly or substantially 'voiceless' majorities within medieval societies. When scholars are drawn to the actions of large groups, the tendency is for issues of motivation to be seen as mediated by pre-existing structures. So, for example, it would be fair to argue that people took part in the Norman Conquest of England for reasons that can be located within practised ways of engaging with uncontentious ideas about reward and opportunity, political loyalty, rights and duties, regional identity and worldly ambition. The Conquest was an unusual event in itself, but it was also the setting for the enactment of well-known values ordered for the participants in reassuringly familiar configurations.¹⁴ By the same token, issues of motivation attaching to recurrent activities that more closely resemble crusading in their voluntary quality tend to be approached through the identification of factors that extended over long timeframes. Thus, questions such as why people went on pilgrimage or gave land to monasteries have been tackled through an examination of durable structures and habits of mind, within which every individual case is in the nature of a co-opting of tradition.¹⁵ The perennial problem, of course, is that these sorts of (wholly legitimate) perspectives turn the men and women of the eleventh century into creatures of the practised, recurrent and consensual. But these break down when applied to the study of those who went on the First Crusade. The motivations of first crusaders represent western European society's reaction to an unfamiliar and potentially disruptive paradox: how to embrace novelty by stepping outside the confines of its experience while simultaneously acting

¹⁴ For an excellent survey of Conquest scholarship, see M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester, 1999).

¹⁵ The literature on pilgrimage is vast. For a useful introduction, see D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999). Among the many discussions of aristocratic benefaction of churches, particular mention may be made of C. B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987); S. D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988); B. H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, NY, 1989).

'in character'. This amounted to the negotiation of remarkable challenges on an unprecedented scale. Of course, most people did not go on the First Crusade, and enthusiasm for it seems to have been geographically uneven.¹⁶ But to be too insistent about crusading's 'minority appeal' would be to miss the bigger point about the remarkable scale and impact of the response that can be discerned, and about the methodological challenges that this poses for the historian.

Scholarly analysis of the reasons why people went on the First Crusade has traditionally been conducted within quite clearly defined, though fairly wide, methodological parameters. For example, there is no serious Marxist interpretation of the crusade and its motivations – perhaps because problems of human agency obtrude a little too disconcertingly when large numbers of people consciously engage in something that on the surface appears so eccentric in relation to the broad trends of social change. Perhaps, too, because the 'poor' are seldom more than a shadowy presence in the dynamics of a crusade, cultural Marxist analysis is a lost cause.¹⁷ Gender theory, on the other hand, may prove a useful starting point for new approaches given its interest in the culturally formulated expressions of masculinity. And broader disciplinary categories may have something to offer: social and legal anthropology, for example. Until now, however, debate has tended to centre much more than these methodological approaches would countenance on terms of reference that resonate directly with the conceptual universe of the crusaders themselves. That is to say, motivation has been studied principally through categories that would have been consciously present and largely unproblematic to medieval men and women within the reality that they themselves apprehended. The possible limitations of this approach are obvious, but it continues to exert a very strong appeal, as much as anything, perhaps, because it powerfully conveys respect for the dignity and individuality of people whose 'otherness' can appear so profound.¹⁸

To demonstrate both the value and some possible drawbacks of the prevailing methodology, it is useful to imagine its implicit assumptions extrapolated to their two possible extremes. Very few scholars would subscribe to one or other extreme, of course, and scholarly debate in effect turns on the relative merits of nuanced intermediate positions. But the exercise is

¹⁶ J. France, 'Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade', in *FCOI*, pp. 9–10.

¹⁷ For non-Marxist treatments, see W. Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade', *Speculum* 21 (1946), 1–23; R. Rogers, 'Peter Bartholomew and the Role of "The Poor" in the First Crusade', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 109–22.

¹⁸ See the comments of Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 6.

nonetheless valuable in highlighting key problems and possibilities. First, there is what could be labelled the reductive, literalist view: that essentially people readied themselves for the crusade message by doing what most obviously resembled crusading as an enacted and observable quality. In effect, this amounted to fighting Muslims or going on pilgrimage. A crusade message which was a fusion of ideas about meritorious violence and pilgrimage clearly built on the two existing behaviours that offered the most direct correspondences.¹⁹ But there are difficulties to be addressed. The reductive approach proceeds from an unduly negative view of the imaginative powers and resourcefulness of late eleventh-century society in general and of its aristocratic elites in particular. Crusaders and their contemporaries can too easily be corralled into mental spaces where connections can only be made across small gaps, where changes in perception and behaviour can be learned only slowly and tentatively, and where there is little or no scope in their lived experience for extrapolation, metaphor and invention. Much of this seems a legitimate position in relation to what was a generally conservative society, but as an *a priori* absolute it is unsatisfactory.

The second position can usefully be termed the maximalist view, an approach that is superficially attractive but ultimately self-defeating. According to this perspective, when individuals responded to the appeal of the First Crusade, this act was a function of a cultural formation that comprised all facets of their social positioning and identity – family, lordship networks, regional affiliations, education, age, sexuality, mental and physical health, self-fashioning and numerous other factors. In other words, no aspect of life was potentially irrelevant, or at least no attribute can be formally ruled out as a possible influence, which comes to the same thing. There is certainly something appealing about this vision in that perhaps crusade historians – like most historians most of the time – are too willing to compartmentalize aspects of the totalizing life experiences of their subjects, wary no doubt of the infuriatingly imprecise image of what people were ‘really like’, and of what they thought and felt, that can emerge from a historical vision fixed on the vaguer reaches of *longues durées* and *mentalités*.²⁰ The First Crusade, they might argue, lends itself to a coherent narrative exposition

¹⁹ E. O. Blake, ‘The Formation of the “Crusade Idea”’, *JEH* 21 (1970), 11–18.

²⁰ The enthusiasm for the First Crusade as a possible turning point in the history of *mentalités* that was expressed by J. Le Goff, ‘Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities’, in *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora (Cambridge and Paris, 1985), p. 166 has, significantly, not resurfaced in his subsequent work or that of the *Annalistes* generally. The impressionistic, inaccurate, and hostile view of the First Crusade expressed by G. Duby, ‘Ideologies in Social History’, also in *Constructing the Past*, pp. 162–4, explains a great deal. But compare the suggestive contribution to the same volume by A. Dupront, ‘Religion and Religious Anthropology’, pp. 123–50.

that is pretty much as *événementielle* as history gets in the period. And if people in the late eleventh century can, conceptually speaking, be seen spending most of their lives as vectors of long-term patterns and trends, then taking the cross and doing something as odd as crusading can almost seem like a defiant assertion of the possibilities of direct human initiative and agency.

The maximalist view seems to square the circle by allowing for influence-packed, socially conditioned individuals to be products of their cultural milieu while at the same time doing something as specific and, in some respects, atypical as going on crusade. All this makes a lot of sense. Nonetheless, the seductions of this approach need to be recognized, for the danger lies in confusing comprehensiveness with clarity. For one thing, it becomes logically impossible to ask why other people, the majority, fashioned within the same conceptual universe, did *not* go on crusade. In addition, the maximalist approach makes effective differentiation between discrete, or at least separable, ideas and impulses very problematic. Motivation as a historical problem is about the subtle configurations of its constituent elements, not simply their undifferentiated cataloguing. Otherwise, the net effect of historical debate and revision is simply to make its subjects seem more complicated – there is always room for something else in their brains – rather than more clearly understood. Another drawback of the maximalist approach is that it risks slipping into a sort of determinism which requires that the First Crusade was somehow the inescapable outgrowth of the 'nature' of late eleventh-century western European society. There is far too much contingency in the story of the crusade to make this approach remotely realistic.

So, the historian's task must be rigorously to prioritize ideas and influences in any assessment of crusade motivation, with due acknowledgement that this will at best amount to the construction of a pattern of approximations and generalizations that can never be proven in individual cases. This, of course, is where the crusade historian's project potentially becomes most vulnerable to a postmodernist critique about the unknowability through texts of the historical object, and about the ideologically charged imposition of coherence upon shapeless form.²¹ To forestall this criticism, an effective

²¹ The literature is as vast as its debates are heated. For good introductions to the issues raised by the 'linguistic turn', poststructuralism and postmodernism generally, see J. O. Appleby, L. A. Hunt and M. C. Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994); R. F. Berkhofer, Jr, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); A. Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London, 1997); *The Postmodern History Reader*, ed. K. Jenkins (London, 1997). Medieval historians have generally been underrepresented in the debates, but see G. M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism,

approach is to route analysis through what amounts to the core evidence – ‘core’ not simply in the sense that modern historians have awarded it some particular evidential value from a recreationist perspective, but also to the extent that it is itself an embodiment of attempts by people at the time to invest the crusade with enduring meaning. This involves asking how society at the time of the First Crusade formally inscribed its understandings of the crusade. Commemoration took a number of forms, including the visual, the plastic and vernacular literary expression. But the earliest widespread medium, and thus an important influence upon other forms, was the Latin narrative, predominantly in prose. The narrative record amounts to an extensive and multifaceted corpus. For the purposes of this essay, therefore, it is useful to isolate a point of entry that can bear with particular force upon questions of crusade motivation. Unsurprisingly, this search is facilitated by the fact that the authors of crusade histories were deeply sensitive to the matter of origins as a necessary element within a coherent narrative structure. The identification of starting points, as is well known, focused on the Council of Clermont in November 1095 and in particular Urban II’s sermon on the 27th. Not all the crusade narratives mention the council, and there is evidence of belief in competing, or at least complicating, origin myths,²² but Clermont is foregrounded sufficiently often to suggest that the crusade was widely believed to originate in a significant and identifiable event, and that this duly fitted the bill.

If the First Crusade is indeed a ‘constructed narrative’, to use Hayden White’s term, then Clermont serves perfectly as the ‘inaugural motif’:²³ historiographically speaking, it functions as the animating and transitional moment out of which the First Crusade, hitherto present only in some potential form by virtue of whatever antecedents and contributory causes are assigned to it, becomes a discrete narrativized object. But was the council, and specifically Pope Urban’s speech to it, so important? Few scholars nowadays would subscribe to the approach of Dana Munro, who in a famous article published a century ago attempted to recreate Urban’s sermon by cross-matching the themes and motifs found in the major contemporary

and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages’, *Speculum* 65 (1990), 59–86; N. F. Partner, ‘Historicity in an Age of Reality-Fictions’, in *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. F. Ankersmit and H. Kellner (Chicago and London, 1995), pp. 21–39.

²² See E. O. Blake and C. Morris, ‘A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade’, in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Shiels, *SCH* 22 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 79–109; P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Medieval Academy Books 98 (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 8, 33–6.

²³ H. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, Md, 1973), pp. 5–7.

accounts of it, and then ordering the correspondences into the categories of definite, probable and possible.²⁴ It is easy to smile at what now looks like Munro's methodological naivety, for his basic premise was that the accounts of what Urban said were essentially exercises in honest reconstruction; failing memories or incomplete information are what account for the differences between the authors' versions. More recent scholarship has drawn attention to the very constructed nature of the accounts: they were expressions of a particular sermon-centred discourse which was at some remove from a concern for verbatim reportage.²⁵ For all its empiricist certainties, however, Munro's vision at least proceeded from a belief in a clear and unproblematic correlation between what Urban's speech was as a historical event and why it was important as a cause of other historical events. Retreating from the possibility of recovering Urban's exact utterances while retaining the belief in the importance of the speech as a causal episode places that link under some strain.

The answer is to differentiate clearly between the Clermont speech as a single event, something now utterly beyond recovery, and what contemporaries soon turned it into, a commemorative and explanatory device. By assuming the status of the big answer to how the crusade started, Clermont necessarily became an encapsulation of informed contemporary impressions of what made western European society respond to the crusade message. Historians have possibly exaggerated Urban II's own contribution in this: what appears like the utterances and behaviour of a shrewd judge of the contemporary scene might simply be part of a narrative logic which needs to posit a certain action in order to produce the sort of reaction which is its principal concern. In any event, the records of the Clermont speech as they have been preserved are to some extent not about a speech itself; they envisage the message simultaneously 'bouncing back' from its audience, informing and inflecting what Urban must have said. The reports of the speech, then, amount to analyses of crusaders' ideas and motivations, chronologically positioned before the event as a matter of narrative

²⁴ D. C. Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095', *AHR* 11 (1905-6), 231-42. See the comments of Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 2-3. The accounts used by Munro, and the principal bases for all subsequent treatments of the speech, are Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 127A (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 111-17; Robert the Monk, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', *RHC Oc.* 3: 727-30; Baldric of Bourgueil, 'Historia Jerosolimitana', *RHC Oc.* 4: 12-16; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 132-8; William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 90, 2 vols. (London, 1887-9), II: 393-8. The account in Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1968-80), v: 14-18 is substantially based on that of Baldric but also drew on additional sources of information.

²⁵ Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 1-8, 10-33.

cohesion. To this extent, critically, the accounts of Urban's utterances assume the character of reception framed as message.

What was that message and by extension its reception? In the context of analysing crusaders' motivations, we need to identify in particular any elements that lent themselves to effective transmission across boundaries of geography, language and to some extent class. Message elements that particularly suited internalization and empathetic identification – what gave crusaders a personal stake in an idea which could represent itself as an impulse emanating from the interior self – are also important to locate. This search can profitably focus on the use of vivid constructions that invited imaginative visualization, and on metaphorical language that operated as a bridge between individual experience and the conceptualization of dispersed, sometimes unencountered collectivities – for example, the totality of western armsbearing society, the brotherhood of eastern Christians, or the pagan Other. Approaching the accounts of the Clermont speech from this perspective, two dominant and interwoven strands emerge: the circumstances in which the Holy Land, and especially Jerusalem, found itself, and the actions and characteristics of the Muslims there. This binary emphasis is very well known, of course; but if we return to the earlier point about the conflation of message and reception, then it becomes important to ask how and why these *topoi* chimed so well with the efforts of thoughtful observers to understand what crusaders felt and thought.

Surveying the versions of the speech for the treatments of the East's fate and of Muslims – in effect, approaching the material like Munro, but in a less literalistic manner – one finds clusters of recurrent and powerful motifs. The stylistic and structural complexities of each text mean, of course, that these motifs appear in different permutations and with variations in relative emphasis. But however they are syntactically expressed, they effectively boil down to sequences of evocative abstract nouns: defilement, dirtiness and pollution; perfidy, dishonour, evil, infamy, lust and cruelty; tyranny, violence, violation, oppression and destruction; slaughter, enslavement and abuse; pagan-ness, barbarism and idolatry; profanity, impiety and disbelief; remoteness, degeneracy and alienness. Urban II's surviving letters provide corroborative evidence for the importance in broad terms of these forms of abstraction, though their language is generally terser and less charged.²⁶

²⁶ *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 136–8; 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', ed. W. Wiederhold, *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1901), 313–14; *Papsturkunden in Spanien. I. Katalanien*, ed. P. Kehr, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* ns 18, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1926), II: 287–8.

Fuller support for the significance of this repertoire of images, metaphors and associations is provided by the charter evidence, which suggests a close correspondence with the terms of reference being used in 1095–6 as the crusade message criss-crossed Europe.²⁷ One noteworthy feature of this group of ideas is the skilful manner in which it elides perils to the individual body with the hazards faced by the corporate body of believers – Christians are circumcized, according to Robert the Monk, they are eviscerated and decapitated, and the Holy Places are dishonoured and polluted, in the grip of unclean hands.²⁸ Churches are being turned into stables, says Baldric of Bourgueil, and Christ's flesh is abused in the spilling of Christians' blood.²⁹

The fact that this sort of connection could be made at a level beyond that of artful rhetoric naturally draws us into the worlds of psychology and psychoanalysis. But there is an immediate problem. Psychohistory has proved notoriously difficult to do in relation to the Middle Ages. One of its most conspicuous victims has been none other than one of the First Crusade historians, Guibert of Nogent, by virtue of his having penned a rare memoir of his childhood – the key domain, of course, for any psychoanalytical understanding of personality.³⁰ If analysis of Guibert is so problematic, attempting the same for crusaders with much less to work on is bound to fail. So, it would be very interesting but ultimately impossible to dig deeply into what un- or subconscious triggers were fired by evocations of themes such as dirt and pollution, separation and grief, lust and violation, and bodily dismemberment – all this quite beyond, or at least analytically detachable from, the sort of conscious and expressible introspection that was encouraged by the penitential slant of the overt crusade message.

On the other hand, it is possible to consider another level of consciousness which connects to the historical specificity of cultural and social forms in late eleventh-century Europe but does not simply reinscribe contemporary ideas in their own terms. That is to say, we can ask what were the general conceptual schemes which people were equipped to apply to the idea of the crusade – particular clusters of contexts, associations and connotations that could give a concept shape and tone. These notions do not in themselves take us to the level of express contemporary discussion – how,

²⁷ See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 60–2, 67–8.

²⁸ 'Historia Iherosolimitana', pp. 727–8.

²⁹ 'Historia Iherosolimitana', p. 13.

³⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. E.-R. Labande, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge 34 (Paris, 1981). See J. F. Benton's analysis in the introduction to his translation of Guibert's memoir: *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent* (New York, 1970), pp. 12–28. See also the same author's 'The Personality of Guibert de Nogent', *Psychoanalytic Review* 57 (1970–1), 563–86. Cf. J. Kantor, 'A Psychohistorical Source: The *Memoirs* of Abbot Guibert of Nogent', *JMH* 2 (1976), 281–303.

say, members of a family group weighing up the merits of the crusade message might have applied the lexicon that crusading itself offered them. Rather, we are looking for underlying assumptions and instincts which up to then may not have found any dedicated outlet but could now assume a central importance in the strategizing of would-be crusaders. Imagine crusaders responding to a word-association exercise in which terms such as 'Jerusalem' or 'Turk' were quickly thrown at them in order to elicit instant connections. That never happened as such, of course, but a good crusade sermon, after all, was effectively an extended exercise in something not dissimilar.

By what means, then, can we establish how people would have responded to these basic notions, and why? An under-researched source base with a good deal of potential is provided by the many collections of miracle stories that were composed in the centuries either side of the First Crusade. This is not material with the same revolutionary potential as the charter evidence, but a preliminary study suggests that research into *miracula* can throw valuable light on some of the most important contemporary perceptions that activated crusading enthusiasm – that is to say, the broad cultural 'fit' within which crusading functioned as a particular sub-discourse. The remainder of this essay will offer some preliminary observations on the value of this source material in relation to the motifs that have been identified in the versions of Urban II's sermon and other crusade material. With this in mind, it is useful to begin by considering some more general issues relating to this source type's main characteristics and its credentials as historical evidence.

An initial survey of miracle collections from France, the Empire and England from between c. 1000 and c. 1200 suggests that the premises informing their perception of the East and of Muslims were remarkably stable, despite the obvious fact that the period is bisected by the arrival on the scene of crusading. There are, of course, references to symptoms of changes in circumstances, such as stories involving the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem.³¹ Further research will undoubtedly nuance and complicate the picture. But the continuity that is evident – as in many other thematic strands within the discourse of *miracula* more generally – is worthy of emphasis. It points towards the durability of straightforward and powerful

³¹ *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Rocamadour au XII siècle*, ed. and trans. E. Albe, rev. J. Rocacher (Toulouse, 1996), p. 206; Eng. trans. M. G. Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 155–6; William of Canterbury, 'Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi', ed. J. C. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, RS 67, 7 vols. (London, 1875–85), 1: 466.

images, emotional responses and associations – in effect the building blocks that someone could use to construct a framework of meaning when hearing trigger words such as 'Jerusalem', 'Sepulchre', 'Saracen', 'pagan' and 'journey'.

On the face of it, miracle stories should pose few methodological problems for any area of study that traditionally has other types of narrative sources in its repertoire. Within a usually very straightforward narrative structure – a consistently foregrounded central character or group that provides the narrational viewpoint, clearly set-up introductory expositions followed by middle-section sequential action and definitive closure, little anticipation or retrospection, uncomplicated characterization, few digressions and tangential 'fills' – the stories represent attempts to describe human experiences that are framed within the same sorts of terms of reference, such as family, locality, cult and church, that are found in many other genres. The inhabitants of miracle texts, in other words, live in a familiar narrativized world governed by much the same set of institutions and structures that one encounters through other, more traditionally 'historical' sources.

On the other hand, it is very obvious that if one applies a reconstructionist methodology to these stories akin to how, for example, crusade histories are often deployed, then one is regularly confronted by the paradox of incidents which seem to attain the status of historical episodes but simultaneously defy belief. A comparison with a text such as the *Gesta Francorum* is illuminating. Like many other crusade narratives, the *Gesta* includes material of a miraculous or marvellous nature.³² But most of what it describes can be transposed into a narrative that conforms to modern historiographical idiom. (Whether the resulting version is or is not historically 'correct' is another question entirely.) For example, the text can serve as a central piece of evidence for a rendering of the battle of Antioch that does not require the appearance of a ghostly army to explain its outcome.³³ This is not necessarily the most fruitful approach to the material – culturally speaking, something like the belief in the ghost army is actually much more significant than what may or may not have taken place over the course of a few hours one day in late June 1098 – but it works on its own terms.³⁴ The same cannot be said, however, if one turns to the great majority of miracle stories. Peel away the miraculous and the narrative easily dissolves: any factual residue loses its coherence once its organizational rationale is

³² *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. M. T. Hill (London, 1962), pp. 57–60, 62, 65, 69.

³³ For a reconstruction of the battle, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 279–96.

³⁴ For the belief in heavenly assistance during and after the crusade, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 72–3, 82–9, 91–107, 111–19, 139–43.

removed. Attempts to salvage some meaning usually succeed in explaining away the redundant and speculating about circumstances that cannot be retrieved, which scarcely amounts to a satisfactory interpretative strategy.³⁵

Two responses are in order: one bearing on the place of the discourse represented by *miracula* within the wider frames of historiographical reference that were available to writers in this period; the other flowing from a consideration of the social interactions which supplied the stories' raw material. First, the issue of the historiographical credentials of miracle stories that has vexed modern scholars.³⁶ Confusion has been compounded by the fact that the terms 'historiography' and 'hagiography', and by extension whatever distinctions there are between them, have antecedents in medieval usage but have also become modern terms of art which create their own expectations about content and form.³⁷ One scholar has recently been moved to argue that the debate about the relationship between hagiography and history has become so fraught with variables and inconsistencies that it can only meaningfully be resolved at the level of individual texts.³⁸ For practical purposes, it is enough to note that miracle stories were usually written by people who were close in time to the events that they relate, regularly attested to their veracity by appeals to authenticating devices such as personal observation or reliable oral testimony, and readily communicated belief in the 'realness' of their stories' details.³⁹ Moreover, the interpretative loading of the stories was grounded in this appeal to veracity – the 'historical' character was indispensable to the communication of meaning.⁴⁰ One revealing result was that a number of miracle collections slid structurally or substantively into more overtly 'historiographical' forms such as monastic institutional histories, without their authors resorting to any self-conscious transgression of or playing with generic boundaries.⁴¹

³⁵ Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, pp. 32–3.

³⁶ Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie et historiographie: Quelques aspects du problème', in *La storiografia altomedievale*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 17, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1970), 1: 139–66; F. Lotter, 'Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen', *HZ* 229 (1979), 298–356; P.-A. Sigal, 'Histoire et hagiographie: Les "Miracula" aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980), 237–57.

³⁷ See F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator* 25 (1994), 95–113.

³⁸ L. Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC, 1997), pp. 277–80.

³⁹ See P.-A. Sigal, 'Le travail des hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction', *Francia* 15 (1987), 149–82.

⁴⁰ Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, pp. 32–7.

⁴¹ A conspicuous example is the miracle collection compiled between the ninth and twelfth centuries at Fleury: *Les Miracles de saint Benoît*, ed. E. de Certain (Paris, 1858). See D. W. Rollason, 'The Miracles of St Benedict: A Window on Early Medieval France', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 73–90; T. Head, *Hagiography and*

A further consequence was that some miracle writers were able to demonstrate the sort of interest in the wider world that one would most readily associate with a sensitive and informed chronicler. One particularly vivid example is provided by William of Canterbury, one of the authors of the miracle collections assembled at the shrine of St Thomas Becket in the 1170s. He used a number of his stories to offer a sharp critique of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1171–2 by subtly inverting the language of just war that seems to have been used to justify the exercise, and by parodying the rhetoric of papal and royal attacks on the ‘uncultured’ Irish.⁴² This degree of topical political comment was unusual in a writer of *miracula*, but many other texts display some thoughtful engagement with contemporary affairs. William’s close contemporary, the author of the *Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, for example, was alive to the recurrent problems caused by mercenaries drawn to the wars waged in southern France.⁴³ Similarly, some Anglo-Norman miracle writers writing after 1154 used their texts as opportunities to comment on the failings of King Stephen and the troubles of his reign.⁴⁴

Given this sort of attention to the current and the well-known, it is unsurprising that a number of miracle writers reveal an interest in crusades and in how people fared on them. Indeed, some of their observations amount to informed comment that bears comparison with what those writing in other genres had to say. For example, one of the contributors to the *Miracles of St Donation*, writing early in the twelfth century,

the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200 (Cambridge, 1990). For a more modest example, see ‘De miraculis SS. Gregorii et Sebastiani’, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis. Pars 1: Codices latini membranei*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, *Subsidia hagiographica* 1, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1886–9), 1: 238–48.

⁴² William of Canterbury, ‘Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae’, pp. 180–1, 181–2, 275–6, 364–5, 378–80, 457, 507.

⁴³ Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, pp. 74–90.

⁴⁴ Benedict of Peterborough, ‘Miracula sancti Thomae Cantuariensis’, ed. Robertson, *Materials*, 11: 79; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, ed. J. Raine, Publications of the Surtees Society 1 (London, 1835), pp. 104–5, 127–8, 134–5, 193–4. For the use of events such as sieges, natural disasters, tournaments, plagues and dynastic successions as contextual background or as chronological markers, see ‘Miracula S. Lupi episcopi Senonensis’, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi* (hereafter *Catal. Paris.*), ed. Société des Bollandistes, *Subsidia hagiographica* 2, 3 vols. (Brussels and Paris, 1889–93), 11: 311; ‘Miraculum S. Juliani’, *Catal. Paris.*, 1: 512–13; ‘The Miracles of the Hand of St. James’, trans. B. Kemp, *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 65 (1970), 7–8, 16, 17; ‘Des miracles advenus en l’église de Fécamp’, ed. R. N. Sauvage, *Mélanges de la Société de l’Histoire de Normandie*, 2nd ser. (Rouen, 1893), p. 29; ‘Historia inventionis et miraculorum S. Gilduini’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), 169; William of Canterbury, ‘Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae’, pp. 456, 475, 539, 543; ‘Les Miracles de S. Aignan d’Orléans (XIe siècle)’, ed. G. Renaud, *Analecta Bollandiana* 94 (1976), 264–5; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, pp. 272, 273; ‘Liber miraculorum sancti Aegidii auctore Petro Gulielmo’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890), 396.

recounts the departure of Count Robert of Flanders and an impressive retinue when 'a countless army of Christians set out for Jerusalem in order to expel the sons of disbelief from the place in which the whole promise of our redemption was fulfilled'.⁴⁵ The story goes on to describe how there was a breakdown of order in the count's absence – a problem attested elsewhere⁴⁶ – prompting the clergy and people of Bruges to process with St Donation's relics, whereupon a crippled boy was cured next to the fere-tory. A twelfth-century story from Saintes describes how a knight took the cross 'during one of the signings' (*tempore cujusdam cruce signationis*) and travelled overseas 'to extend the worship of God and to avenge the wrong done to Christ'.⁴⁷ He was subsequently captured and then miraculously freed. A story recorded at Bec is set during the First Crusade, when 'the people distinguished by the Christian name and moved by divine inspiration journeyed together from all parts of the world towards the Saviour's tomb in memory of the holy cross and to drive out the pagans'.⁴⁸ An account of an aristocratic feud in Germany is chronologically fixed in the *Miracles of St Giles* by reference to the Balearic crusade of 1114–16, 'the time when the army of Christians had journeyed by sea to attack Majorca . . . and to release the captives from there'.⁴⁹

Direct references to crusades are, however, quite rare.⁵⁰ Significant as such overt evocations are for what they reveal about the capacity for historical mindedness on the part of miracle writers, the importance of *miracula* for the study of crusading ideas and motivations extends beyond this form of overt engagement into more general considerations about the interactions which made the stories possible and which they in turn enshrined. Some forms of hagiographical composition such as saints' *vitae* and *translationes* were predominantly exercises in institutions creating texts and fashioning memories for their own internal consumption. Broadly speaking, miracle stories were, in contrast, reflections and affirmations of the value to religious communities of looking outwards and of interacting – on terms congenial to themselves, naturally – with the world beyond. This is a very schematic distinction, of course: the fact that a saint's Life and posthumous miracles were often written up as complementary parts of single texts warns

⁴⁵ 'Miracula S. Donatiani', *Acta Sanctorum quotquot orbe coluntur* (hereafter *AASS*), ed. Société des Bollandistes, 1st and 3rd edns (Antwerp, Brussels and Paris, 1643–1940), Oct. 6: 508–9.

⁴⁶ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 145–6.

⁴⁷ 'Miracula S. Eutropii', *AASS* Aug. 3: 738; cf. p. 743.

⁴⁸ 'Miracula S. Nicolai conscripta a monacho Beccensi', *Catal. Paris.*, II: 427–9; cf. p. 422.

⁴⁹ 'Miracula beati Egidii', *MGHS* 12: 318.

⁵⁰ For an interesting comment on the Second Crusade that echoes contemporary criticism, see 'Miracula S. Rictrudis', *AASS* Mai. 3: 112.

against formulating too rigid an opposition. On the other hand, it is fair to say that Lives generally privilege the individual subject relative to his/her immediate communal setting, and in turn that immediate community or communities relative to the wider world – the amorphous and only partially glimpsed ‘out there’ met in long journeys, one-off encounters, and the intrusion of exceptional events. ‘Out there,’ in complete contrast, was precisely what most miracles were about – the domain of outsiders who either brought the news of a miraculous event to a shrine or experienced a miracle in the sight and hearing of those who recorded it, before (usually) disappearing back into the world. Of course, the stories in the forms in which they now survive are many removes from their authors’ initial encounters with their informants and the information that they saw, heard, or read, but their origins in forms of interaction remain noteworthy. To this extent miracle stories are analogous to charters as formulaic records of a religious institution’s dealings with outsiders, particularly lay people. Indeed, it is interesting to note that there is some thematic convergence between the two types, most obviously in accounts of how property disputes were resolved.⁵¹

Like charters, miracle stories present delicate problems of deciding whose voice or voices one is hearing. However much the lay beneficiary of a miracle is the person whose experience stimulates the written record and functions as its narrative centre, in much the same way that the act of benefaction of a monastery equips the benefactor to ‘speak’ through a charter in the first or third person, do the ideas and sentiments overtly or implicitly communicated in the text flow from the actor or the narrator? The answer, in varying degrees, is both simultaneously, in that the monastic and clerical writers of *miracula* generally tempered the imposition of narrative clarity, literary style and theological sophistication upon their versions of events with some sensitivity to what their informants’ particular circumstances were: abstracted miracles-as-types, shorn of historical specificity, were not common before the thirteenth century. In addition, it is reasonable to suppose that those who travelled in the hope of benefiting from a miracle or who had a miraculous episode to relate had often internalized a version of the very discourse that would inform any written version of their experiences in order to explain and structure their experiences – in effect anticipating the expectations of their observers and interlocutors at the shrine, just as someone giving property to a monastery no doubt had to ‘think him/herself’

⁵¹ ‘Miracula S. Lifardi’, *AASS Iun.* 1: 308; ‘Translatio S. Honorinae virginis et martyris et ejusdem miracula’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890), 141–3; ‘De miraculis S. Autberti Camaracensis episcopi libelli duo saec. xi et xii’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 19 (1900), 207–8.

into the role of donor, its postures, protocols and language. Lay people in miracle stories were participants as well as narrative objects; their world is not simply the one made for them by authors. Miracle stories are not a direct route into the laity's mental landscape, and they speak to only some aspects of its lived experience. But they get us close enough to glimpse the operation of some important cultural values and perceptions, including ideas that can be related to crusade motivation.

This last point is particularly apparent in relation to the ways in which Jerusalem and the Holy Land are treated in *miracula*. Jerusalem and the other holy places were not noted as places that people principally visited in the hope of cures – the staple miracle type in the great majority of collections. This means that Jerusalem and the Holy Land feature in the surviving miracle texts selectively and in some necessary relation to the saint, cult and shrine of which each text is a celebration. Connections were necessarily created by mobility – the east appears as a consequence of people in motion. It followed that the Holy Land was not conceptually framed within a straightforward binary opposition – with the west as observer and the east as object. On the contrary, many miracle stories reveal that Jerusalem was integrated within a complex pattern of different cult centres and devotions, some of them very small-scale, others more intermediate in terms of popularity and status. Significantly, many of the references to Jerusalem and other holy places that occur in the miracle stories are in the context of attempts to situate a saint, and by extension his or her cult centre, clearly within this matrix.

The significance of the matrix is revealed by one of the fairly rare occasions when it experienced sudden and widely registered change – the substantial addition to western Europe's devotional geography brought about by the cult of St Thomas Becket that emerged soon after his murder in December 1170. *Miracula* from English and other European shrines show that other cult centres responded to this challenge, using the mobility of their central characters as the narrative means to establish relationships between Becket's cult and themselves. These could be based on a posture of outright competition, but in many instances the negotiation was subtler, expressing notions of saintly co-operation that were played out through the experiences of the narratives' characters.⁵² In this way, emphasis was

⁵² Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, ed. and trans. A. Jessopp and M. R. James (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 289–94; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaе de Finchale*, ed. J. C. Robertson, Publications of the Surtees Society 20 (London, 1847), pp. 391–2, 397–8, 409–10, 410–11, 423, 428, 432–3, 441–2, 459–60; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, pp. 251–2, 260, 261–2, 270–1, 271–2; 'Miracula S.

placed on the cult's parity with, or at least proximity to, the status and renown enjoyed by Canterbury. Interestingly, the perspectives at play alter significantly when we examine Canterbury's own self-positioning through the large collection of miracle stories that was compiled in the decade after Becket's death. Now the key markers – the triangulation points that fixed relative value – are places such as Compostela, Rome, Rocamadour and Saint-Denis.⁵³ As one man was told in a vision of St Thomas, Henry II need only visit Canterbury (which he did in 1174) to merit the forgiveness for his part in Becket's murder that he would normally expect to earn by means of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Rome.⁵⁴ This was the summit to which Canterbury hoped to aspire.

For all shrines, then, there was a pronounced element of self-definition that required external referents – up, down and sideways – to establish a relative position. Jerusalem's particular importance within the devotional matrix was as an unimpeachable point of ultimate reference – a status not simply stated but actually enacted in the movements and decision-making processes of pilgrims in *miracula*. Jerusalem served an important stabilizing function, for it was the pilgrimage destination that was most beyond the reach of competitive language. It was also the principal fixed point in a system of relative positionings that was much more fluid than is sometimes supposed. Historians often imagine Jerusalem located in a quite fixed hierarchical framework, a pyramid of international, regional and local centres surmounted by itself, Rome and Santiago de Compostela.⁵⁵ While there is evidence to support this view, the miracle stories also suggest that many other configurations could suggest themselves, in part, of course, because of the particular interests of each author but also because that is how individual pilgrims made choices and acted on them in their movements to and between shrines.⁵⁶ There was no universally acknowledged pyramid of devotion. Even Compostela and Rome, while clearly accorded great respect,

Frideswidæ', *AASS* Oct. 8: 570, 583, 586, 587; 'Vita et miracula S. Bertrandi, episcopi Convenensis', *AASS* Oct. 7: 1183; 'Vita et miracula B. Bernardi Poenitentis', *AASS* Apr. 2: 680–1, 682, 688, 692–3; 'Inventio reliquiarum S. Eligii, anno 1183', *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890), 427–9.

⁵³ For Canterbury's awareness of more local counter-attractions, see Benedict of Peterborough, 'Miracula sancti Thomae', pp. 32–3, 96–7, 148–9, 222–3.

⁵⁴ William of Canterbury, 'Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae', pp. 275–6, and see also pp. 337–8, 362; Benedict of Peterborough, 'Miracula sancti Thomae', pp. 35–6, 182–3, 208–9.

⁵⁵ Cf. D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 13 (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 150–1, 155–82.

⁵⁶ See, for example, William of Canterbury, 'Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae', pp. 289–91; *Les miracles de saint Privat suivis des opuscules d'Aldebert, évêque de Mende*, ed. C. Brunel, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 46 (Paris, 1912), pp. 106–7; 'Vita S. Bertrandi', p. 1183; Thomas of Monmouth, *Life and Miracles of St William*, pp. 178–81.

were not beyond the reach of 'poaching' by other cult centres.⁵⁷ Jerusalem was much less so.

The privileged position of Jerusalem, both within and above the networks of western Christendom's holy sites, is clearly demonstrated by one type of story in the *miracula* repertoire, that involving the travels between multiple shrines of penitents who wore iron bands on their arms, legs or bodies. The mobility of the penitent becomes the means to configure relationships between different places – an authorial purpose added particular edge by the symbolic opportunities that were provided by descriptions of how, when, and where the penitents' iron bands broke. For example, the early twelfth-century miracles of St Enimia include an elaborate verse account of a penitent who embarked on a very long trek that began at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, took in India and Asia Minor, then Constantinople, Rome and most parts of continental western Europe, before culminating at Compostela, where the penitent was advised in a vision that he would be freed at the shrine of St Enimia (which he did not know).⁵⁸ Jerusalem's role as the first place listed is noteworthy. In the *Miracles of St William of Norwich*, a knight from Lorraine is progressively freed from his penitent's mail shirt, belt and iron bands at various places: first the Holy Sepulchre, then Clonfert in Ireland, and finally Norwich.⁵⁹ A similar sequence in the St Cuthbert miracles reads Holy Sepulchre, Noblat, Durham.⁶⁰ In 1009 an Anglo-Saxon woman who had been implicated in the slaying of her mother in a feud travelled to Jerusalem before finding relief from the iron bands on her arm at the shrine of St Mansuetus at Toul.⁶¹ In 1068 a fratricide whose iron bands had partly broken at Saint-Denis and then fully at the shrine of St Sigebert in Metz proceeded on to Jerusalem to give thanks for his delivery before returning to Metz to serve in the church of his liberator.⁶²

A number of miracle stories turn on the ability of a saint to facilitate a pilgrim's journey to more distant and high-status locations, among which Jerusalem is prominent.⁶³ This theme of the interconnectedness of local and international cult centres is further brought out in another story type: episodes in which those aboard a ship are saved from drowning or shipwreck thanks to saintly intervention. This was a narrative device much

⁵⁷ 'Vita et miracula B. Bernardi Poenitentis', p. 680; 'Vita S. Bertrandi', p. 1182; 'Miracula sancti Agili Abbatis', AASS Aug. 6: 595; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, p. 374.

⁵⁸ 'Vita, Inventio et Miracula S. Enimiae', ed. C. Brunel, *Analecta Bollandiana* 57 (1939), 292–6.

⁵⁹ Thomas of Monmouth, *Life and Miracles of St William*, pp. 231–6.

⁶⁰ Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, p. 164; cf. pp. 177, 208.

⁶¹ 'Miraculum S. Mansueti quod contigit anno MEX', AASS Sep. 1: 651.

⁶² 'Historia translationis I et miraculorum S. Sigeberti', AASS Feb. 1: 238.

⁶³ For example, 'Miracula S. Frideswidae', pp. 570, 580, 581.

favoured by the writers of miracles because it permitted them to situate the renown and power of their saint far beyond the normal circumscriptions within which the cult functioned. In addition, at the story's narrative centre stood someone who could be cast in the role of eloquent advocate of the saint's powers, complete with a ready-made receptive audience.⁶⁴ Sometimes direct speech would be used to ventriloquize and clarify sentiments that would otherwise remain implicit or require authorial asides to make plain. Many of these stories take place in situations that have no apparent connection to pilgrimage – during trading trips, for example – but a significant number explicitly mention pilgrimage to Jerusalem as the context. Stories that do not mention a destination but only refer to pilgrims on the Mediterranean or simply at sea were probably meant to imply that a journey to the Holy Land was involved.⁶⁵ In these stories, the status of Jerusalem is appropriated by the cult centre that is the narrator's particular interest. In the process, not only is the cult centre projected outwards, Jerusalem moves closer to home: the sentiments, associations and images that it evokes elide into a domestic frame of reference.⁶⁶ This clearly has implications for the evocative power of Jerusalem as a motif in the crusade message.

As many miracle stories reveal, authors made an easy connection between long-distance travel and danger – a connection so natural that it was the source of numerous plot devices. In addition to the fear of drowning and shipwreck suggested by the ship-in-peril *topos*, miracle stories attest to anxieties about piracy, robbery, impoverishment, illness and incapacity.⁶⁷ An excellent examination of many of the fears that were associated with pilgrimage to Jerusalem is found in Book Two of the *Miracles of St Faith*, written by Bernard of Angers in the second decade of the eleventh century.⁶⁸ The story concerns a lord from the Toulousain called Raymond of Le Bousquet who on the outward leg of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem is shipwrecked and captured by pirates from 'Turlanda', by which somewhere on the north African coast is almost certainly meant. When his military skills

⁶⁴ See Hariulf, 'Libellus de miraculis S. Richarii factis post ejus relationem', ed. L. d'Achéry and J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668–1701), v: 569; William of Canterbury, 'Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae', p. 363; 'Miraculum S. Nicolai', *Catal. Paris.*, II: 405; 'Miracula S. Vulfranni Episcopi', *AASS Mar.* 3: 157–8.

⁶⁵ William of Canterbury, 'Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae', pp. 299, 326.

⁶⁶ See 'Translatio S. Honorinae', pp. 141–3; 'Miracula S. Lifardi', p. 308.

⁶⁷ William of Canterbury, 'Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomae', pp. 238, 321–3, 439; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, pp. 268, 299; 'Sanctae Catherinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia', ed. A. Poncelet, *Analecta Bollandiana* 22 (1903), 438; 'Miracula S. Basoli', *Catal. Paris.*, III: 214–15.

⁶⁸ *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. L. Robertini, Biblioteca di medioevo latino 10 (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 153–7; Eng. trans. in P. Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia, Pa, 1995), pp. 115–19.

are discovered, Raymond serves in the pirates' ranks before being captured in turn by Berbers, 'Saracens' from Córdoba, and 'Alabites'. Eventually he falls into the hands of the count of Castile, Sancho García (a detail which offers a possible date of 1009, when we know he was campaigning in the south of the Iberian peninsula). Raymond is freed to return home. Reaching Le Bousquet after a fifteen-year absence, he discovers that his wife has taken up with another man, who has gained control of Raymond's castle, though not of all his lands. Raymond's attempts to lie low are thwarted when he is recognized in the bath by a former concubine. Attempts to dispose of Raymond prove to no avail, and with the support of loyal in-laws and vassals he is able to restore due order to the small world of Le Bousquet, overcoming his rival and repudiating the murderous wife.

The very stylized nature of the narrative structure, as evident, for instance, in the manner in which Raymond passes along a sequence of captors and in the narrator's conjecture that the pirates gave him a forgetfulness potion, has led Ashley and Sheingorn to argue that in this particular story Bernard of Angers was self-consciously effecting a highly literary adaptation of the *Odyssey* for educated readers to spot.⁶⁹ The text's most recent editor, Robertini, on the other hand, sees in the tale a literary refashioning of folkloric motifs that have themselves been mapped onto a basic factual core.⁷⁰ This makes good sense; the story, after all, is implicitly set in the recent past, and the explicit identification of both the central character and his castle suggests that the events were believed to have a substantial basis in lived experience. In any event, what may or may not have happened to the 'real' Raymond of Le Bousquet is less important than the fact that the particular literary-folkloric representation of his adventures that was chosen by Bernard of Angers was a good vehicle to invest the story with meaning precisely because of the availability of motifs and associations that attached to pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It is particularly noteworthy that Bernard emphasizes Raymond's pilgrimage aims and status although these are details that are not strictly necessary for the basic plot to cohere. Thus, by introducing Raymond as a Jerusalem-bound pilgrim, actions and reactions explicated throughout the unfolding story are conditioned and granted extra meaning by recollection of this fact. The underlying themes that are brought out in this way include notions of separation, the exotic quality of the physically remote, vulnerability in the face of sudden and total disaster, and exposure to unreconcilable difference (as in the 'barbaric roaring' of

⁶⁹ K. M. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign, and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago and London, 1999), pp. 75, 104.

⁷⁰ *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, p. 368.

the pirates and their unknown language and customs). Related fears focus on the destruction of familial and other close bonds, the loss of personal identity and social status, the destruction or misappropriation of the material bases of existence, and at a very fundamental level the loss of any control over memory – one's own or that of others.

As Raymond's story reveals, it was impossible to separate ideas about the physical difficulties of Jerusalem pilgrimage from images of the human dimension, specifically a Muslim world onto which fears and stereotypes could be projected.⁷¹ A story recorded at Conques in the second quarter of the eleventh century, for example, relates that a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem was captured by Saracen shepherds, who beat and tortured him for what they hoped was hidden gold. The point to stress is that in the narrator's presentation the shepherds' actions need no explanation, for, simply because they are cruel pagans and the embodiment of *bestialis rusticitas*, their motives are a straightforward function of their antonymous detachment from the devout, Christian, human identity of which the pilgrim is a potent figure.⁷² Similarly, the Muslim practice of taking Christian prisoners is casually described in the twelfth-century *Miracles of St Giles* as a *mos*.⁷³ According to Andrew of Fleury, one of the authors of the *Miracles of St Benedict*, writing in the 1040s, the Spanish 'Saracens' were a *gens vesana*, *gens perfida* and *gens nefanda*; the inveterate enemies of Christians and the new Philistines, they were simultaneously effeminate and aggressive, blindly trusting in their large numbers to bring about the military success that in fact came to the Christians because of divine assistance.⁷⁴ In one Conques story, probably written in the later eleventh century, the Spanish Muslims who capture two Christian peasants are acting according to a basic paradigm that is well known and beyond dispute ('Constat enim . . .'): treacherous, cruel and perverse, they resemble animals and lust after filthy gain.⁷⁵

⁷¹ For a useful survey of scholarship on medieval Christian views of Muslims, see D. R. Blanks, 'Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. D. R. Blanks and M. Frassetto (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 11–53.

⁷² *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, pp. 208–9.

⁷³ 'Miracula beati Egidii', p. 319; cf. pp. 321–2. See also 'Vita et miracula S. Bertrandi', p. 1183; 'Miracula S. Rictrudis', pp. 112–13; *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, pp. 300–3; *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus. I. Texto*, ed. W. M. Whitehill (Santiago de Compostela, 1944), pp. 261–2, 286–7; 'Liber Alter Miraculorum Sancti Leonardi', ed. A. Poncelet, *AASS* Nov. 3: 159–68; Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Guido, évêque de Lescar (†1141): A propos d'un Miracle de la Vierge', in his *Recherches d'hagiographie latine*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 52 (Brussels, 1971), pp. 39–46.

⁷⁴ *Les Miracles de saint Benoît*, pp. 185–9. See also 'Miracula S. Eutropii', p. 738; *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, pp. 229–31.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 277–8.

The recurrent motifs of captivity, enslavement and torture that appear in miracle stories suggest that if, as some of the accounts of the Clermont sermon suggest, Urban II's crusade message included an evocation of the mistreatment of eastern Christians at the hand of Muslims in the Holy Land, this was not simply an appeal to westerners' powers of imagination and empathy. This was also something within the western range of experience which was in fact projected eastwards, not just the reverse. The fact that Spain is often the setting for miracle stories involving capture by and escape from Muslims suggests that this, rather than the supposed importation of Spanish ideas of holy war into embryonic crusade thought, is an area where this part of Europe did have a significant bearing on people's responses to the crusade appeal. That is to say, Spain as well as Jerusalem evoked images of captivity and suffering which meant that Urban II's particular slant amounted to an invitation to expand an existing and highly charged frame of reference.⁷⁶ When Guibert of Nogent, in contrast to other writers, had Urban dwell at Clermont on the travails of westerners travelling to the East as opposed to the problems faced by the easterners themselves, he may in fact have been alive to the essentially domestic orientation of perspectives that stories such as that of Raymond of Le Bousquet perpetuated and spread.⁷⁷

To conclude, there can be no doubt that motivation is an elusive but necessary topic. To study crusade motivation is to work with the grain of source material that was created by authors who were themselves alive to questions about what motivated people. These authors knew that the crusade response turned on the confrontation of choice. But choice is not something that exists in an isolated, distillable form: what schematically we might wish to relegate to the status of background structures and conditions in practice become inextricably bound up in the act of choice and internalized by the subject. For crusaders, then, the question why they were going on crusade could not meaningfully be separated from consideration of the resources that were available in their world – emotional, economic, social, political – to turn idea into action. It is insufficient, however, to argue on this basis that an individual crusaded *because* he belonged to a given family, household, *mouvance* or other collectivity without which his aspirations to crusade would have been abortive.⁷⁸ Crusade messages were

⁷⁶ See O. R. Constable, 'Muslim Spain and Mediterranean Slavery: The Medieval Slave Trade as an Aspect of Muslim-Christian Relations', in *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, ed. S. L. Waugh and P. D. Diehl (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 264–84.

⁷⁷ *Dei Gesta per Francos*, p. 116.

⁷⁸ See France, 'Patronage', pp. 5–20; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 81–105.

apprehended in the individual mind, *then* played out in social arenas. It would be entering the realm of abstraction to imagine for each crusader an initial moment of 'pure' encounter with the crusade as idea, before it became contaminated by and inexpressible beyond the discourses of familiar social interaction – that is to say, the means whereby an idea translates into something do-able. But it is nonetheless useful to posit some such sequence to help us identify the role of the unarguable and instinctive in the process of deciding to go on crusade, or at least of entertaining it as a feasible option. We cannot apply modern techniques of analysing the workings of the mind because we have insufficient data from which to work (and 'mind', anyway, is not a constant that transcends historical change). So we are limited to explorations of the mental spaces that people of the late eleventh century themselves inhabited. As their various levels of engagement with the key themes of Jerusalem and the Muslim world reveal, miracle stories are a route into those spaces that merits further scholarly attention. For this reason, *miracula* deserve to join the repertoire of sources attaching to the study of the First Crusade.

A further note on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147

Giles Constable

Some interesting light is thrown on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 by the three surviving accounts of the translation of the relics of St Vincent, although they are all relatively late and to some extent fabulous.¹ The first, and least important, of these is the prologue to the miracles of St Vincent by the precentor Stephen of Lisbon, which has been dated about 1150 but which its most recent editors date simply before 1185.² According to this

In addition to those abbreviations listed at the start of the volume, the following are used in this chapter: *BHL*: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, *Subsidia hagiographica* 6 (Brussels, 1898–1901), and Díaz y Díaz: M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, *Acta Salmanticensia: Filosofía y Letras* 13: 1–2 (Salamanca, 1958–9).

¹ It is a pleasure to return, after almost fifty years, to the subject of my first published article, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', *Speculum* 28 (1953), 525–6, and to find that there is still something to be said on the subject in spite of the amount that has recently been written. The principal source remains the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, of which the edition and translation by C. W. David (New York, 1936) has been reprinted, with a foreword and bibliography by J. P. Phillips (New York, 2001) (hereafter cited as *De expugnatione*). Other editions will be found in J. A. de Oliveira, *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros (1147)*, Complemento ao volume 11 da 'Lisboa Antiga' de Júlio de Castilho, 2nd edn (Lisbon, 1936) and A. Pimenta, *Fontes medievais da história de Portugal, I: Anais e crónicas* (Lisbon, 1948). It is regrettable that account was not taken in the reprint of the textual errors in David's and Oliviera's editions listed in R. P. de Azevedo, *A carta ou memória do cruzado inglês R. para Osberto de Bawdsey sobre a conquista de Lisboa em 1147* (Coimbra, 1962), pp. 29–31, which is cited here from a separately paginated offprint from *Revista portuguesa de História* 7, but was also published (apparently in a shortened version, which I have not seen) in the *Actos do Congresso Histórico de Portugal: Medievo, I: Bracara Augusta 14–15* (1963), pp. 45–66, cited by R. Hiestand, 'Reconquista, Kreuzzug und heiliges Grab', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 31 (1984), 138 n. 13, which lists other works on the conquest of Lisbon, including P. David, 'Sur la relation de la prise de Lisbonne (1147) rédigée par un clerc anglo-normand', *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal*, ns 11 (1947), 241–54, who cited some interesting evidence that the manuscript may be an autograph. Phillips lists other articles on the conquest of Lisbon, especially those by Livermore (see note 9 below), showing that the author was the priest Raol, Edgington (see note 10 below) on the so-called Lisbon letter, and himself (see notes 18 and 22 below) on the Lisbon letter and the ideas of crusade and holy war. Two further articles on the conquest of Lisbon have recently appeared: M. Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon, 1147', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 71–89 and S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', also in *The Second Crusade*, pp. 54–70.

² A. A. Nascimento and S. A. Gomes, *S. Vincente de Lisboa e seus milagres medievais* (Lisbon, 1988), pp. 24–6; *BHL*, no. 8654; Díaz y Díaz, no. 933. See L. de Lager, 'Saint Vincent de Saragosse',

source Vincent's relics were taken in the second half of the eighth century, at the time of the Muslim invasions, from Valencia to Cape St Vincent in the region known as the Algarve. When King Alfonso of Portugal looked for them, in order to take them to Braga or Coimbra, he was unable to find them because St Vincent wanted 'to be venerated by the people of Lisbon', which was still in the hands of the Muslims. Only after the land had been freed 'from the servitude of the unfaithful' and peace established between the king and the Muslims was the body found and taken to Lisbon.³

A second, more detailed, account is found in the *Relatio de translatione S. Vincentii martyris*, which can be dated from the references at the end to Pope Alexander III and King Louis VIII (for VII) to between 1159 and 1180.⁴ It was called a 'mediocre composition' and 'an imaginary romance' by de Lacger, who considered it a later work designed to show that the relics of St Vincent came directly to Lisbon from Valencia rather than by way of the Algarve,⁵ but it appears to be based on some authentic sources concerning the conquest of Lisbon.

In the year of the Lord 1146, when Conrad the emperor of the Romans and Louis the Young king of the Franks led their armies through Hungary, Thrace, and Greece against Zengi, prince of Damascus, father of Nur ed-Din, who captured the great city of Edessa in Mesopotamia on the night of the Lord's nativity and killed all the Christians, the Belgians (*Morini*), whom we call Flemings, prepared suitable ships and placed in them all the things that were needed for a journey across the sea, and when they had prepared everything that was suited for such a journey, they left the shores of Flanders in the month of March and entrusted themselves to the British sea. They navigated with a successful voyage, came to Spain, entered Lusitania by the Adriatic [*sic*] sea, and dropped their anchors in the surroundings of the city of Lisbon. The aforesaid city, however, was full of Saracens. Since the Christians who were in the boats had sufficient arms to attack the city, they took wise counsel among themselves, and it seemed to them that they should not progress further against the Saracens of Syria while they were an obstacle to them [the Christians]

Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France 13 (1927), 347–8, and A. Linage Conde, 'San Vicente mártir, lazo peninsular del Mediterráneo al Atlántico', in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval* (Oporto, 1989), pp. 7–8.

³ Nascimento and Gomes, *S. Vincente*, pp. 30–2.

⁴ There are two substantially identical (see n. 6 below) editions in the *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), 272–3 (from a manuscript formerly in the library of the Jesuit College at Douai) and in the *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicarum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1886–9), II: 467–8 (from a fourteenth-century manuscript from St Ghislain now in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels); *BHL*, no. 8653 (dated 1173); Diaz y Diaz, no. 1007. See J. Baudot and C. Chausson, *Vies des saints et des bienheureux*, I: *Janvier* (Paris, 1935), p. 435, dating it about 1175, and Linage Conde, 'San Vicente', pp. 6–7.

⁵ De Lacger, 'Saint Vincent', pp. 348–50, who dated the translation about 1160.

in Spain. At last after many and lengthy assaults with great labor [and] with the assistance of divine grace, the city was captured, the Saracens were killed, sold, and expelled, and the whole city was cleansed, a bishop was established in the city, churches were constructed, and clergy were ordained. When therefore King Alfonso heard reports that the blessed Vincent reposed buried in the aforesaid basilica near Valencia, he journeyed there joyfully with many horsemen; he sought and he did not find, since the time of finding had not yet come.⁶

The third account is in the so-called *indiculum* (or *indculus*) of the foundation of the monastery of St Vincent at Lisbon, which is dated 1188 but was probably revised later.⁷

In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1147 the most Christian king of the Portuguese Alfonso, son of Count Henry and Queen Tharasia, the marvelous and courageous extirpator of the enemies of the cross of Christ, in the eighteenth year of his reign and fortieth in age, gathered his army against the Saracens, as he was moved [to do] each year, and he advanced on Lisbon, which was then the city of those men, and besieged it in the month of June and set up tents around it; and he had in his army a chosen band of strong men whom the Lord sent, raised by zeal, to assist him in 190 boats, which we call *barcia*, from the northern parts of diverse people. The king therefore ordered these men to attack from the side of the sea which surrounded the aforesaid city, for they were warriors [who were] very strong in vigor, all armed, with helmets, carrying spears, shields, and swords, tending their bows, and experienced in battle. They willingly received the orders of the king and soon after their boats were anchored in deep water and disposed in suitable positions, the fearless men proceeded to the shore and eagerly established their camps against the city, each according to their places of birth (*generationes*) and their languages. For the camps of the Germans and of others who came with them from neighboring regions occupied houses of the suburbs on the eastern side of the city, and they entered and lived there after the Saracens were driven out from them. The English and other people of Britain and Aquitaine (*equitanie*), however, established their residences in the suburbs to the west of the city after the pagans had fled from them.⁸ For the king with his dukes and other barons participated in the siege from the north through the near-by hills and valleys after the mass of common people had fled.

⁶ *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), 272. The version in the *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicarum* has, in addition to a number of spelling variants and minor word-differences, *commiserunt* for *committunt* and *episcopos* for *corpus* in the phrase 'corpus in civitate constituitur'.

⁷ *Portugaliae monumenta historica: Scriptores* 1 (Lisbon, 1856–61), pp. 90–3; Díaz y Díaz, no. 917; *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, VI: *Fontes I–J–K* (Rome, 1990), p. 235, where it is described as 'opus a. 1188 sed postea interpolatum'. It is cited by David in the introduction and notes to *De expugnatione*, pp. 38–9, 50, 112–13, 132–4, 178; Azevedo, *A carta*, p. 20; and Linage Conde, 'San Vicente', pp. 12–14.

⁸ See *De expugnatione*, p. 128, on the suburbs abandoned by the Muslims and occupied respectively by the English and Norman crusaders and by the Flemings.

The author went on to give an account of the siege, stressing the role of the Franks (as all those 'who came from the regions of the Gauls' were called, he said) as fighters and sufferers 'for Christ'. The king in a speech said that those who died were 'martyrs of Christ' and associated them with 'the holy martyrs in heaven . . . whose footsteps they were known to have followed with such great zeal on earth'. The king instructed the archbishop of Braga to establish two cemeteries and promised to found after the conquest of Lisbon two monasteries in the locations of the cemeteries, each with a college of religious men to pray for himself and those who were buried there. The German cemetery was the site of the future monastery of St Vincent and the English cemetery of the church of St Mary *ad martyres*.⁹ A priest named Rohard, also known as Winand, celebrated mass daily in the German church of St Vincent, and collected alms to build the basilica,¹⁰ and a layman named Henry rang the bells at the hours 'in the custom of his homeland'.

Following the account of the establishment of the two cemeteries and churches there is a section on miracles, together with a brief account of the siege and fall of Lisbon, calling the crusaders *christicolae* (chs 10–11), and of the foundations and privileges of the monastery of St Vincent and, more briefly, of St Mary *ad martyres* (ch. 12). There is an interesting account of the governance and endowment of the monastery of St Vincent by the king, whose charter is incorporated into the text (ch. 14).¹¹ It also gives a list of the superiors, starting with Rohard, mentioned above, who was followed

⁹ On the two cemeteries and churches of St Vincent and St Mary, see *De expugnacione*, pp. 132–4 and the *Crónica da fundação do mosteiro de S. Vicente de Lisboa*, ch. 4, ed. A. de Dornelas, in *Academia portuguesa da história: Anais* 2 (1940), 166, on which see the *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, III: *Fontes C* (Rome, 1970), p. 371. H. Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author', *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), 4–5, printed a translation of a document of 1148 of the priest Raol concerning his role in the conquest and the foundation of the cemetery of the English and the church of St Mary, which he gave to the canons of Santa Cruz in Coimbra.

¹⁰ On the names Rohard and Winand, see P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, 3rd edn, ed. R. M. Wilson (Oxford, 1997), pp. 384 (under Rowarth) and 494. This priest was probably the writer of the base-version of the so-called Lisbon letter addressed by the priest Winand to archbishop Arnold of Cologne, of which two other versions, with different beginnings and endings, were addressed by Arnulf to bishop Milo of Théroutanne and by Duodechin, priest of Lahnstein, to abbot Cuno of Disibodenberg: see S. B. Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *BIHR* 69 (1996), 328–39 (with the Latin text of Winand's letter on pp. 335–9) and Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', pp. 54–70, with a translation of the letter and references to editions of the other letters, to which should be added those of Arnulf's letter in Oliveira, *Conquista*, pp. 114–18 (with Portuguese translation), and Pimenta, *Fontes*, pp. 133–40 (Portuguese translation), which also includes on pp. 124–30 an edition (in Latin) of Duodechin's letter.

¹¹ Two of the witnesses also appear on the agreement between the king and the crusaders in *De expugnacione*, pp. 112–13 and notes 7 and 10. On St Vincent at Lisbon, see N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, 3 vols. (Straubing, 1949–56), III: 269–70. On Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon, who arranged the foundation, see *De expugnacione*, p. 178 and n. 5.

by two Englishmen named Hicia and Salericus, who was a monk.¹² After him came a Fleming, abbot Walter, who came to Lisbon with four monks apparently after the conquest and who was dismissed after he tried to subject the house to Prémontré,¹³ then a canon named David, a canon of Bañols named Godinus, who later became bishop of Lamego, another canon of Bañols named Menendus, and finally Pelagius, who was still living in 1188, when the *Indiculum* was written.¹⁴

The miracles included those at the tomb of the *martyr* and *miles Christi* Henry of Cologne, who came from Bonn and who lost his life during the siege and was buried in the cemetery (and later church) of St Vincent (ch. 6),¹⁵ together with his squire, whose body miraculously moved to be next to his master's (ch. 8). Some palms placed on Henry's tomb by pilgrims took root and were effective as cures (ch. 13). Two young men who had come with the Franks and were deaf and dumb recovered the power of hearing and speech (ch. 7), which is also recorded in other sources on the crusade.¹⁶ The miracle of the bloody host (ch. 9) is likewise mentioned in the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.¹⁷ These correspondences with the *De expugnatione* tend to confirm the accuracy of the traditions recorded in the *Indiculum*, especially the perception that participants in the conquest were *milites Christi* and that those who died were *martyres Christi*.¹⁸

The presence among the crusaders of two deaf-and-dumb youths who presumably hoped to be cured shows that the expedition was a pilgrimage as well as a military undertaking,¹⁹ as does the presence of women, who were forbidden in the *De expugnatione* from going out in public.²⁰ The international character of the expedition is shown by the number of different nationalities that were involved, in both the *Translatio* and the *Indiculum*. The reluctance of the participants to proceed to the east before extirpating

¹² For the name Hica (Hicia/Hicca), which occurs in the twelfth century, see W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: A List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the Time of Bede to that of King John* (Cambridge, 1897, repr. Hildesheim, 1960), p. 296. It may be related to Hector.

¹³ On Walter see *Crónica*, ch. 13, pp. 176–7; Backmund, *Monasticon*, II: 509, and III: 269; B. Ardura, *Abbayes, prieurés et monastères de l'ordre de Prémontré en France des origines à nos jours* (Nancy, 1993), pp. 321, 323, identifying him as Walter of St Maurice, who was abbot of St Martin at Laon from 1124 until 1151, when he became bishop of Laon.

¹⁴ See *Crónica*, esp. ch. 11, pp. 173–5, on the privileges.

¹⁵ *Crónica*, chs. 6 and 12, pp. 167–8 and 176.

¹⁶ See the *De expugnatione*, pp. 132–4, and the letters of Duodechin and Arnulf (cited note 10 above).

¹⁷ *De expugnatione*, p. 134 and n. 2; cf. pp. 38–9.

¹⁸ See J. P. Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*The Conquest of Lisbon*)', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson, *SCH* 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123–41.

¹⁹ In *De expugnatione*, p. 108, the expedition is called a *peregrinatio*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

the Muslims in Spain shows that they regarded themselves as joining in a larger undertaking.²¹ In Portugal, where these sources were written, the conquest of Lisbon was clearly seen, and continued to be seen later in the twelfth century, as an intrinsic part of the Second Crusade.²²

²¹ Of particular interest is the statement in the *Translatio* that the participants considered it useless to go on against the Muslims in the east as long as others were behind them in Spain.

²² See among other works R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1992), p. 188, and J. P. Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *JEH* 48 (1997), 485–96, and his introduction to the reprint of *De expugnatione*. Hiestand, 'Reconquista', esp. pp. 138, 150, 154–5, stresses the association of the campaigns in Spain with those in the east, and N. Jaspert, 'Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the Crusades', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 90–110, calls the conquest of Tortosa 'truly an integral part of the enterprise known as the Second Crusade'.

CHAPTER 3

Costing the crusade: budgeting for crusading activity in the fourteenth century

Norman Housley

Historians of the crusades still tend to consider the central issues of response and motivation without adequate reference to the question of funding. This is curious on several counts. In the first place, the mechanics of crusade finance have benefited at least as much as any other aspect of the crusades from the proliferation of study which has occurred over the past fifty years or so. This applies of course to the level of high politics, the drawn-out and often fierce negotiations over funding which were generated by almost any major crusading project from c. 1200 onwards. But it also applies to administration, the laborious and protracted process of gathering in the specie, storing it, and disbursing it (or watching it being purloined); and even to the financial affairs of individual volunteers, such as the *Preussenfahrer* whose personal accounts Werner Paravicini has analysed with such skill.¹ As a result we know that the intensity and duration of crusading activity were profoundly influenced by the amounts of specie available and the ease with which it could be accessed. St Louis's crusades were affordable because the French church was taxed on his behalf by an acquiescent pope; and much the same applied to the Spanish church and the thirteenth-century *Reconquista*.² In contrast, one reason why the recovery projects of the late Capetian and early Valois kings of France failed to produce action was that the requisite funding was simply not to hand, while the crusading policy of the popes during the Avignonese 'exile' was profoundly shaped by the solvency or insolvency of their Italian bankers.³ Nor was this true only of the later crusades. It is clear from Jonathan Riley-Smith's painstaking dissection of the financial arrangements made by the early crusaders that,

¹ W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 2 vols. to date (Sigmaringen, 1989-), II: 163-318.

² W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, NJ, 1979), pp. 65-104; P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 101-250.

³ N. J. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 177-86, 194-8.

right from the start of the movement, funding loomed large in the thoughts of both *crucesignati* and *crucesignandi*.⁴

If there is an obvious danger in discounting financial considerations, there is an equivalent danger that an over-emphasis on funding distorts the history of the crusades by making commitment hinge on the state of bank balances: crusading then becomes a mere offspring of the economic growth of the Central Middle Ages, an interpretation as unsatisfactory as any view which ties it solely to socio-economic indicators. One escape route from this unpalatable choice of alternatives is surely to ask how far individual crusaders, and would-be crusaders, had a clear idea of what their financial obligations were going to be. A good starting point is a telling incident in the reign of Philip the Fair, one recounted by R-H. Bautier in a recent contribution to the debate on the role of Philip's counsellors.⁵ Bautier narrated how at a meeting of the royal council held late in 1313, the king undertook to fund galleys to assist with the crusade, in response to pressing papal pleas. But at the close of the meeting Enguerrand de Marigny took to one side Clement V's envoy, Pierre Barrier, and abrogated the decision of the king and his counsellors. Only he, Marigny, knew the condition of the royal finances, and they simply did not permit the king's undertaking to be kept unless new grants were forthcoming from Clement V. The incident can be read in various ways: as an example of the ramshackle way in which major decisions were reached; as a clever means of turning down the pope's request without publicly going back on commitments made earlier in the year; or as Marigny flexing the political muscles of the nascent *chambre des comptes*.⁶ Overall, however, it raises questions about decision-making not just at Philip's court but at almost every centre of power involved in any kind of crusade in the period stretching from the late thirteenth century through to the early fifteenth century. Popes, kings and their financial advisors shared with crusading theorists a broadly consensual view that crusading activity should be paid for from a variety of sources, notably revenues derived from the church, vow redemption payments (or, increasingly, the profits of indulgence sales), and lay subsidies. The proportion to be culled from each source would depend on a whole range of factors.⁷ Did these individuals, on the other hand, have any realistic grasp of how much money would be

⁴ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), ch. 5 *passim*.

⁵ R-H. Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique: ce que la critique diplomatique nous apprend sur la personnalité de Philippe le Bel', *Revue historique* 259 (1978), 3-27, at 25-6; text in J. Schwalm, 'Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv* 25 (1900), 559-84, at 562-4.

⁶ For background see J. R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), pp. 142-91.

⁷ For the period 1305-78, these are discussed in my *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, ch. 5 *passim*.

needed in order to carry out their plans? How far did they base those plans on what we would today describe as budgeting procedures, matching up their anticipated income and expenditure?

Let us begin with two types of crusading activity which, for different reasons, offered a fairly close match between anticipated and actual costs: naval activity and limited, closely defined land campaigns. Because those with galleys and transport ships for hire expected their money 'up front', we have a fair number of figures which tell us estimates for expenses at various points in the fourteenth century. Those provided by Marino Sanudo Torsello in his *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (1306–21) have long been appreciated for their precision, and they were subjected to methodical analysis by Franco Cardini in order to build up a detailed picture of the cost of the three-stage crusade which the Venetian espoused. Sanudo priced vessels, crews and supplies separately, and Cardini reached a global figure of 102,000 florins (fl.) per annum for the ten galleys which Sanudo proposed for his policed embargo on the Mamluk lands.⁸ This figure of about 10,200 fl. a year (or 850 fl. a month) for a fully equipped and crewed galley forms a useful yardstick for comparison with other estimates and costs. In July 1307 the monthly sum of 100 gold *uncie* (=500 fl.) per galley was agreed on by the pope and Charles II of Naples for the galleys which the king was to provide for a crusade as part of his debt-repayment package. This presumably included no hire charge as the galleys would have come from the Angevin arsenal.⁹ In March 1334 the papal *camera* paid 600 fl. a month for each of the four galleys which it was hiring for service in the first of the several naval leagues which were organized against the Anatolian Turks. This seems to have been something of a bargain, which may be connected to the fact that the galleys were initially expected to carry goods on the outward journey, bringing the owners (as well as the pope) a profit which was worked into the contract.¹⁰ More typical perhaps is Pope Clement VI's outlay in 1343, which was 800 fl. a month. This figure supports Sanudo's reputation for accuracy, though it should be noted that Clement paid an additional 150 fl. a month for the stipend of each galley's captain.

⁸ F. Cardini, 'I costi della crociata. L'aspetto economico del progetto di Marin Sanudo il Vecchio (1312–1321)', in *Studi in memoria di Federico Melis*, 5 vols. (Naples, 1978), II: 179–210, at 188–90. The text of the 'Liber secretorum' must still be consulted in the edition by J. Bongars, in vol. II of his *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1611). The key passage for the embargo flotilla is I.5.7, *Gesta Dei*, II: 30–1.

⁹ *Regestum Clementis papae VI, editum cura et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1885–92), no. 2269.

¹⁰ H. Schröder, 'Die Protokollbücher der päpstlichen Kammerkleriker 1329–1347', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 26 (1937), 121–286, at 256–62; trans. in N. J. Housley, *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 71–4.

For approximately 100,000 fl. it was therefore possible, in the decades leading up to the Black Death, to secure the services of a flotilla of ten war galleys for a full year. This was a large but far from impossible sum of money. Pope Clement V, for example, left 300,000 fl. to the cause of the crusade in his will, though it is arguable that he was using the crusade to camouflage a bequest to a favourite nephew.¹¹ My own estimates for Clement VI's expenditure on his galleys in the East were 112,846 fl. minimum and 144,346 fl. maximum.¹² In exchange for this money Clement received not just the service of four galleys over a period of more than three years (1344–7), but also the kudos which went with it and a prominent say in the affairs of the league in which they served.¹³ Costs soared, however, when the numbers of vessels and their length of service grew, and in particular when the services of mounted men-at-arms were needed: that is, when the nature of the expedition changed from a policing or marauding flotilla to an amphibious army with the agenda of disembarking and securing land on a temporary or long-term basis. For Sanudo this meant the *parvum passagium* which was to land in the Nile Delta, carrying its substantial force of 15,000 infantry and 900 cavalry. These were large numbers, more than six times the size of the force needed for his embargo exercise. Even with modest salary figures, averaging 2.4 fl. a month for each infantryman and 5.6 fl. a month for each cavalryman, the numbers called for raised the annual salary bill alone to 498,000 fl. (the infantry included 1,000 sappers who were to receive a bonus). To this had to be added the costs of hiring the galleys, supplies and other expenses. Cardini's treatment of the figures involved was far from cavalier: he added 96,000 fl. for supplies and 10,000 fl. for other attributable costs, but he did not include the sum of between 60,000 and 90,000 fl. which would have been needed for galley hire. Nonetheless, Cardini reckoned that the daunting core salary bill, joined to the three years duration of the campaign, brought the overall costing of the *parvum passagium* to 2,112,000 fl. This was some 12,000 fl. more than Sanudo's own estimated total.¹⁴

An anticipated bill of over two million florins was about ten times the normal annual income of the popes at this time.¹⁵ It exceeded the loans

¹¹ S. Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 51–2.

¹² Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, appendix 1, pp. 301–2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–5, 251–8.

¹⁴ Cardini, 'I costi della crociata', p. 210, based in particular on 'Liber secretorum' 2.1.4 and 2.1.10, *Gesta Dei*, II: 36–7, 75–7.

¹⁵ G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon 1305–1378*, trans. J. Love (London, 1963), p. 330.

made by the papacy to the Angevins of Naples throughout the twenty-year War of the Sicilian Vespers.¹⁶ This was a very far cry from a bill of around 100,000 fl., and Clement VI's correspondence reveals that even the latter was not welcome.¹⁷ Moreover, this was without considering the final general passage, which Sanudo expected to comprise 50,000 foot and 2,000 horse. It would cost five million florins for the two years which it would take to conquer Egypt.¹⁸ Cardini argued that by reducing to a minimum the imponderables of a crusade to the east, Sanudo provided later historians with figures which demonstrated how impracticable the recovery of the Holy Land had become.¹⁹ Did he perform the same service for his contemporaries? It would be ironic if a man who dedicated his life to the promotion of the crusade brought about precisely the opposite effect. As is well known, Sanudo was remarkably generous in presenting his great work to fellow-enthusiasts for the crusade,²⁰ and he appreciated the danger inherent in spelling out the cost in such detail. Time and again he insisted to his correspondents that God would provide, if only a start was made with energy.²¹ On the other hand, a good deal of evidence exists to show that contemporaries did not need Sanudo's accountancy to show them the financial implications of what they were considering. If Sanudo was unusual in specifying the cost of victuals and fodder, anyone in authority was capable of working out the costs of soldiers and their transportation on the basis of known rates of pay and hire. On this subject at least, Sanudo's manual was far from being a 'book of secrets'.

Good examples are furnished by the negotiations which took place between the French and papal courts in 1323, just two years after Sanudo completed his *Liber secretorum*. On this occasion both courts went into detail to an extent which had been notable for its absence in earlier negotiations. Early in 1323 Charles IV proposed a *primum passagium* which was closely related to Sanudo's embargo flotilla, though charged with the additional task of defending Armenia against Mamluk attack. His flotilla was to consist of twenty galleys, two *naves*, and four *galioti*, a total of twenty-six vessels, crewed by 4,800 men and carrying 3,000 crossbowmen. In his

¹⁶ *Regestum papae Clementis V*, no. 2269, where the total is given as 366,000 gold *uncie* = 1,830,000 fl. at the normal rate of exchange.

¹⁷ Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, p. 302.

¹⁸ 'Liber secretorum' 2.4.27, *Gesta Dei*, II: 90-2.

¹⁹ Cardini, 'I costi della crociata', p. 188.

²⁰ C. J. Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 32 (1982), 57-73, at 67-8.

²¹ See, for example, the letters published by Bongars as an appendix to the 'Liber secretorum', *Gesta Dei*, II: 289-316, at 291, 296, 303.

letter to Pope John XXII, the king emphasized that his *passagium* had been rigorously priced:

Following this it was the king's desire and command that the individuals whom he had brought together to debate this matter, men with considerable experience and reputation on the subject, should diligently look into the approximate purchase cost of galleys, boats and vessels, together with everything else that was necessary or indeed useful for the carrying out of the *primum passagium*, both for its first year and also for following years. After lengthy enquiries and deliberations they discovered and announced that if the [king's] plans were to be carried out in an effective and fitting manner, the cost would be 300,000 *livres paris* in the first year, and the same in subsequent years, with the exception of the purchase cost of the shipping.

The total of 300,000 *livres paris* for the first year's service was the equivalent of about 450,000 fl. Amaury of Narbonne subsequently agreed to carry out the *passagium* for only 200,000 *livres*, but this was still about three times the cost of Sanudo's embargo flotilla. Sanudo attended the council at which the entire proposal was debated, but, as Christopher Tyerman has pointed out, the king and his advisors did not follow Sanudo's advice: amongst other things, they doubled the number of galleys which Sanudo had advocated. The sizeable force of crossbowmen must also have added considerably to the projected wage bill.²² As a result, substantial criticism was directed at the proposal by the cardinals, whose advice the pope requested before replying to the king. Much of the criticism was informed and cutting. Pierre Tessier, for example, reckoned that the sum which the king himself proposed contributing, 20,000 *livres tournois*, would not even cover the rations needed ('pro biscocto et aliis utensilibus minutis').²³ On the basis of the French figures and Sanudo's costings for supplies, he was quite right.

A few months later the king's uncle, Charles of Valois, put forward a plan for a *passagium particulare* to be led by himself. Charles specified both the numbers of troops who would participate, 8,000 horse and 30,000 foot, and the daily wage rates which would be used for their remuneration: 20 shillings (s.) for a baron (that is, a banneret), 10s. for a knight, 7s. and 6 pence (d.) for a squire, and 20d. for a footsoldier. There were enough details here for the pope to place an annual price tag of 1,200,000 *livres tournois*

²² Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello', p. 63.

²³ *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Jean XXII relatives à la France*, ed. A. Coulon and S. Clémencet, 4 vols. (Paris, 1906-72), no. 1696. There was some confusion amongst the cardinals about whether the king had offered 20,000 *livres tournois*, *livres paris* or florins. The sum is simply stated as *livres* in *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1685, col. 263.

on the *passagium*, once he had reduced the proposed figures to a more sensible 4,000 horse and 15,000 foot and applied to them the wage scales set out in Charles's proposal. Charles IV considered this sum too low by a full third. With an exchange rate which hovered around one florin = 17s., the king's figure of 1,600,000 *livres tournois* was not so far from Sanudo's estimate for his *passagium particulare*, a feature common to both approaches being that they seem to have omitted shipping costs.

We must of course remember that all the estimates made in 1323 were part of a complicated process of give-and-take. If Amaury of Narbonne was ready to take a gamble by offering a cut-price *primum passagium*, the king was concerned above all that the *passagium particulare* should not be under-funded. To call these estimates budgets would be inaccurate because the income side of the equation was lacking: the whole point was to secure income to match these anticipated costs. It made sense to establish costings in this way and on that basis to apportion the responsibility for providing matching revenue, although the pope had earlier argued quite the reverse.²⁴ The circumstances of their compilation do not, however, invalidate the accuracy of these figures as estimates. The close match between the estimates and those earlier worked out by Sanudo is significant, and not really surprising: it was in nobody's best interests to put forward totally unrealistic figures. But the exercise in precision failed, at least from the French perspective, since it revealed the gulf between anticipated expenditure and guaranteed revenue. The general message confirmed Marigny's conclusion ten years earlier: France's royal revenues alone, stretched as they were by numerous other demands, could not support the burden of the crusade. The cost of Charles of Valois's *passagium particulare* above all was alarming. Even allowing for fluctuations in the value of the *livre tournois*, it could be predicted that overall the expedition would cost a great deal more than Philip the Fair's war in Gascony, a conflict which had come close to wrecking France's currency.²⁵

The message was learned, one consequence being that when Philip VI negotiated on a crusade with Pope John XXII a decade later, estimates did not play the same conspicuous role which they had in 1323. Philip and his advisers seem to have decided to pitch for papal and public support by avoiding precision and presenting their case in terms of the responsibility

²⁴ *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1562: 'frustra siquidem de stipendiariorum numero, frustra de apparatu passagii, frustra quoque de ipsius tempore queritur, si unde expense ministrentur pro premissis necessarie subtrahatur'.

²⁵ Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p. 188, gives an estimate of 2,000,000 livres for the war in Gascony, at a time when the *livre tournois* was stronger than in 1323.

of Christendom, and especially of its leader the pope, to back a selfless and dedicated monarch as he assumed the mantle of Saint Louis. But it would be surprising if those officials of the royal *trésor* who were delegated to handle the *trésor du saint passage* had not engaged on financial projections akin to those made ten years previously. Most of the constituent parts of the earlier estimates resurfaced. Wage rates for those who undertook to serve with Philip VI on crusade were issued in August 1335, and the numbers and types of ships required were discussed. Officials made themselves familiar with the expenses incurred on St Louis's first crusade. They kept meticulous records of preliminary income and expenditure for Philip's project.²⁶

The high costs of which diplomatic envoys and their masters were aware, and which Sanudo put down in black and white, were not incapable of reduction, at least where a *passagium particulare* or its near-equivalent was concerned. For examples we need to look beyond the watershed constituted by the outbreak of the Anglo-French war in 1337 and the demographic and economic downturn of the 1340s. The shift from an era dominated by serious planning for *recuperatio terre sancte*, into one characterized by raids (whether hit-and-run or seize-and-stay) on Muslim ports, brought about some scaling down of expenses. As a consequence, the need to estimate costs within the context of raising funds was less pressing, especially since there was no longer any question of imposing taxes on the entire Church. Typical was Louis of Bourbon's Barbary crusade of 1390. The Genoese, who initiated the enterprise, provided shipping and crossbowmen for the expedition free of charge. No accounts for the campaign survive, and while large numbers of knights and squires benefited from gifts bestowed by Charles VI and the dukes of Touraine and Burgundy, other participants seem to have served on an unpaid basis for the sake of experience and chivalric renown.²⁷

Although Marshal Boucicaut was not allowed to take part in the al-Mahdiya crusade, the events of 1390 may have been in his mind when he sent envoys to King Janus of Cyprus in 1407 in the hope of arranging a joint expedition against Alexandria. The marshal provided one of the most precise sets of costings since the time of Sanudo.²⁸ He envisaged a force

²⁶ C. J. Tyerman, 'Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land', *EHR* 100 (1985), 25–51, at 35, 39, 42–4, 50.

²⁷ L. Mirot, 'Une expédition française en Tunisie au XIV^e siècle. Le siège de Mahdia (1390)', *Revue des études historiques* 97 (1931), 357–406, at 368–9.

²⁸ *Le Livre des faits du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquant, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. D. Lalande (Paris and Geneva, 1985), pp. 344–63.

of 1,000 men-at-arms, 1,000 squires, 1,000 crossbowmen and 200 archers. This compact army, far smaller than any force suggested in the discussions in 1323, would embark at Genoa in April 1408. It would take with it only 200 horses, the rest being purchased in Cyprus. The shipping required was estimated as five *grans naves*, two galleys and two *galees ussieres*. Most of the costings were made on the basis of monthly salary rates of 5 fl. for an archer and crossbowman, and 10 fl. for a man-at-arms and a squire. Ten fl. a month would also be needed for the maintenance of each horse. The monthly hire of all four galleys was set at 5,000 fl. At 1,250 fl. per galley, this represented a steep rise in hire charges since the time of Sanudo, one which Philippe de Mézières had complained about some twenty years previously in his *Songe du vieil pèlerin*.²⁹ While the hire rate of the *grans naves* was omitted from Boucicaut's figures, it is clear from the global sum that the same sum of 5,000 fl. was anticipated, that is to say, each would cost 1,000 fl. a month, somewhat less than the galleys. A further 10,000 fl. would be needed for provisions and the same amount for 'artillerie et autres abillemens necessaires'.

Boucicaut's proposed army was one fifth the size of the one which Sanudo had envisaged for his *parvum passagium* and it required far fewer vessels,³⁰ but its wage rates were higher than the Venetian's had been. If the marshal had anticipated a year's service he would have faced costs of close on 400,000 fl., but while he proposed making provision for six months' supplies, his other costings were based on just four months' service. A hit-and-run raid of this type was in keeping with the events at al-Mahdiya in 1390 as well as Boucicaut's own raids a few years later, and of course the seizure of Alexandria in 1365 had lasted only three months from Peter I's arrival off Rhodes in August through to his abandonment of the Egyptian port in mid-October. But it is hard not to believe that a further advantage of keeping the proposed expedition so short was cost-cutting. Boucicaut proposed splitting the expense half-and-half with King Janus. He reckoned that Alexandria could be assaulted at a total cost of 132,000 fl., or just 66,000 fl. each. In this way an amphibious expedition modelled on that led by Peter I in 1365, which itself had started life as a *passagium particulare*, could be fitted into a much tighter budget than that worked out by Sanudo.

Delaville le Roux portrayed the crusading movement in the fourteenth century as falling into two halves: 'planning without result' before 1350,

²⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pèlerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1969), II: 101.

³⁰ The Portuguese were to use an army 19,300 strong to capture the much smaller port of Ceuta in 1415. See P. Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven and London, 2000), p. 31.

and 'action without purpose' after 1350.³¹ The second half was dominated by the stereotype of 'une bouillante chevalerie, qui veut, en quelques mois, se "saotiler" de coups de lance et d'épée, et rentrer en Occident quand son bras sera las de frapper'. In common with much else, Boucicaut's 1407 costings cast doubt on the validity of such a division. In some respects the career of the hot-headed and audacious marshal fits Delaville's stereotype. But he was by no means a straightforward individual. By 1407 he had been campaigning for nearly thirty years and had fought in almost every theatre of warfare available.³² He knew very well how much warfare cost and he gauged the importance of efficient planning, even if the ratio of men to vessel would have led to gross overcrowding. Attacking Alexandria again would have been folly, especially for King Janus, who turned down the marshal's proposal, but it would not have been thoughtless or unplanned folly. The transition from the age of Sanudo to that of Boucicaut is not so straightforward as might appear.

The campaign which in some ways most resembles Sanudo's streamlined and professional form of crusading occurred exactly forty years after the theorist's death in 1343. A high proportion of the rich documentation left by Henry Despenser's 1383 crusade to Flanders concerns the expedition's funding, because the bishop showed an extraordinary attention to financial detail. From the start the interest of the English government in implementing the *voie de fait* as a solution to the Great Schism was stimulated by the prospect of revenues culled from crusading sources and directly linked to anticipated costs. During the negotiations which took place early in 1382 on a royal expedition, the English envoys Nicholas Dagworth and Walter Skirlaw lodged a request for cameral revenues, 'because wars are not waged through indulgences, nor can present-day wages readily be paid from their proceeds'.³³ A year later, when the royal expedition had been superseded by Bishop Despenser's crusade, such tentative comments had given way to a complex apparatus in which the tightly organized procedures of English war-making were carefully joined to the maximization of funds raised from preaching the crusade. 'The quality of the bishop's organisation', Nigel Saul remarked, 'was exemplary'.³⁴ During his impeachment in the autumn of 1383 the bishop even claimed that the treasurer for his 'Viage', Robert

³¹ J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle: expéditions du maréchal Boucicaut*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), I: 514.

³² See the fine biography by D. Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366-1421): étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva, 1988).

³³ E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1933), p. 399.

³⁴ N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997), p. 103.

Fowlmere, was in a position to supply the details of service still owed by all those who had contracted with Despenser, so that the remaining months could be exacted in future: a claim which was probably exaggerated but certainly reflected the high level of control aimed at during the recruitment in the preceding spring.³⁵

Although we possess neither Despenser's rates of pay nor any accounts for his expedition, we can be reasonably confident that he knew how much money he would need to take his 2,500 men-at-arms and 2,500 archers to France. Two expeditions of comparable size which were planned at this time were priced. John of Gaunt estimated that he would require a loan of £60,000 for an army of 2,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers in 1381, and when the Commons asked how much a royal expedition of 3,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 archers would cost in May 1382, the answer given was not less than £60,000. Both estimates were for six months' service.³⁶ It would be naïve to take either figure at face value: Gaunt (rather like Amaury of Narbonne in 1323) was soon afterwards to slash his estimate by almost a third (to £43,000), while an expedition which was to be led by the king in person would obviously generate additional costs.³⁷ But it would not be going too far to suggest that Despenser could anticipate costs of around £100,000 for his expedition, which he was contracted to lead for a full year. His exchequer payments, made on the basis of the fifteenth granted him by parliament, totalled £37,475 7s. 6d.³⁸ Such figures explain the care invested in the raising of cash through the preaching of indulgences, and they signal Despenser's astonishing rashness in undertaking to campaign for a full year. That may have been the price he had to pay for parliamentary support, but it remained an audacious *profite*, given how much more difficult it was for a bishop to organize a military venture on this scale than for a secular magnate.³⁹ When Gaunt went through much the same process three years later, things ran more smoothly, even though it was Despenser's crusade which left more evidence of careful planning.⁴⁰

Voluntary commitment was inherent in all crusading, and even when the most strenuous attempts were made to control it, the unpredictable was bound to play its part. Bishop Despenser himself faced the problem, late in his ill-fated crusade in 1383, of some thousands of volunteers arriving in

³⁵ *Rotuli parliamentorum*, 6 vols. (London, 1767–77), 3: 155.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3: 114, 123. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3: 123, 133–34.

³⁸ W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327–1534* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 543.

³⁹ See M. Aston, 'The Impeachment of Bishop Despenser', *BIHR* 38 (1965), 127–48, at 128–9.

⁴⁰ See the comparison between the two crusades in J. Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade in England and France, 1378–1400', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester (1997), ch. 2.

Flanders for whom he had no supplies.⁴¹ Given the short English-Channel crossing, the most stringent financial procedures could be flouted when enthusiasm and greed took over. The situation which confronted Despenser in Flanders reflects, albeit on a smaller scale, the scenario pondered by anyone who contemplated a general passage. The sources are fragmentary, and the infrequency of large-scale crusading caused many contemporaries to become rusty in their grasp of standard procedures,⁴² but there is some evidence that the very term 'general passage' implied that nobody should be turned away from such an enterprise, irrespective of their position in society or place of residence. In their advice on the crusade in 1323, the Cypriot envoys thought that a really enthusiastic response to the preaching of a *passagium particulare* would have the effect of turning it into a general passage: 'when it comes to the attention of people of devotion that the *passage particulier* has been arranged in this manner, they will turn up in such large numbers that the said passage will become general ("en jusques que ledit passage veigne generau") from which many benefits will flow'.⁴³ So when the Venetians advised Philip VI of France in 1332 not to allow 'vile and unwarlike people' to accompany his general passage, echoing the approach earlier taken by Marino Sanudo in the *Liber secretorum*,⁴⁴ there was a note of radicalism in the stance. The same applied to Sanudo's own advice to Philip that an international army should be avoided because of the fighting which would break out.⁴⁵ There were undoubtedly many who believed that a general passage, by definition, should accept into its ranks those who were not professional sailors or soldiers, and that it sliced across political and national boundaries. The transcendence of a general passage in political terms was supposed to ameliorate the king's financial position by affording him access to church funds in lands outside France. In practice, however, other monarchs would not admit his claim to collect and spend money from their territories. Transcendence in recruitment terms did not cause problems because Philip's crusade never materialized, but there are near-contemporary indications of what might have occurred if it had. Both the popular crusade of 1309 and the *pastoureaux*

⁴¹ *Rotuli parliamentorum*, 3: 156.

⁴² It is noteworthy that when Despenser took the cross in December 1382 a search had to be instituted for the proper form of liturgy: *The Westminster Chronicle 1381-94*, ed. L. C. Hector and B. F. Harvey (London, 1982), p. 33.

⁴³ *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1690.

⁴⁴ 'Liber secretorum' 2.4.19, *Gesta Dei*, II: 74, and see too 2.4.23 and 2.4.27, *Gesta Dei*, II: 81, 90.

⁴⁵ F. Kunstmann, 'Studien über Marino Sanudo den älteren mit einem Anhang seiner ungedruckten Briefe', *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der Königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (1855), 697-819, at 793-4.

of 1320 provide models of the uncontrollable passions which might have been aroused within France, while the groups of Italian *crucesignati* who set out on a fruitless and frustrating voyage to Smyrna in 1344–5 reveal what could have happened had Philip embarked with an army and achieved some initial successes in the east, leading to follow-up activity. It proved hard enough to maintain order within a naval league, let alone a general passage.

As such examples indicate, the specific issue of budgeting cannot readily be dissociated from more general issues of control and organization. An army held together by wages would be inherently more stable and obedient than one made up of *crucesignati* who, in Sanudo's words, 'would come and go just as they pleased'.⁴⁶ Dangers also attended the preaching which would create such an army. There was an historical tendency for crusade preaching to be accompanied by attacks on Jewish and Muslim minorities, while a large degree of lay taxation, the *sine qua non* for a major crusade, was a perilous venture in a period rich in revolt against such financial impositions. The two issues could become entangled. In his recent study of the 1320 uprising, David Nirenberg argued that the anti-Semitic attacks perpetrated by the *pastoureaux* were indirect assaults on a bitterly resented royal fiscality. Since their readmission into the kingdom in 1315, the Jews had been collecting debts owed with the assistance of royal officials, because the crown siphoned off a large percentage of the money.⁴⁷ The preaching of a general passage was therefore a potential recipe for domestic discontent and disorder on several counts, while bringing with it such uncertainty about anticipated numbers of recruits that any estimate of likely costs was inherently unreliable. Although such preaching was the only way to generate large-scale enthusiasm (at least within Christendom's interior) and to justify taxation of the universal church, it can readily be understood why smaller expeditions came to be favoured. The general passage was crusading's Pandora's box. On the rare occasions when it was proposed after 1336, as by King John II of France in 1363–4 and by Bishop Peter Thomas after the sack of Alexandria in 1365, there was a distinct lack of realism.

Nicopolis demands separate treatment. In one respect we come closer to a budget than in the case of any other campaign in this period. The Burgundian contingent commanded by John of Nevers was essentially an augmented household, the difference being that since the count did not

⁴⁶ 'Liber secretorum' 2.4.19, *Gesta Dei*, II: 74.

⁴⁷ D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), pp. 46–51.

yet possess a household, it was that of his father the duke. This force of 110 knights, 89 squires, 10 archers and 20 crossbowmen, a total of 229 men, was paid in accordance with fixed, and notably generous, monthly wage rates: 40 livres for the knights, 20 livres for the squires, and 12 livres for the archers and crossbowmen. We can thus state with reasonable certainty that Duke Philip was paying about 80,000 livres a year for the wages for Nevers's contingent.⁴⁸ In addition, he faced a substantial outlay for supplies and livery, which was magnificent. At the close of 1394, moreover, ducal officials made an attempt to work out exactly how much money was available for Nevers, estimating income, deducting ordinary ducal expenses, and reaching a total of 520,000 francs. Richard Vaughan termed this a 'remarkable document' and described it as 'the nearest approach we have to a [Burgundian] budget'.⁴⁹ The difference between the situation in Burgundy in 1394 and that in France in 1323 is worth emphasizing: in 1394 anticipated revenues (most of them taxes collected from subjects of the duke) were known, whereas in 1323 the estimates formed part of a complex process of bargaining.

But of course Nevers' contingent was only one part of the overall expedition. The reversion to a land-based expedition made it possible to organize the army in a fashion which resembled the thirteenth-century crusades rather more than it did those which we have been looking at. In addition to the Burgundian troops, the army which set out from Dijon in the spring of 1396 was composed of a number of other groups (*montres*) which were assembled and paid for by the participating magnates. To give the most well-known example, Boucicaut led seventy men-at-arms, including fifteen kinsmen, at his own expense.⁵⁰ On its way to the east this already heterogeneous force drew in volunteers from the lands through which it passed. They included Johann Schiltberger, the Bavarian captured at Nicopolis who left one of the few first-hand accounts of what happened there: Schiltberger went as the servant or runner of a lord called Lienhart Richartinger, who was killed in the battle.⁵¹ In such circumstances we cannot expect to discover the actual cost of the expedition, let alone anything resembling an overall budget. The records left behind by Burgundian attention to detail therefore form no more than the tip of an iceberg of concealed expenditure.

⁴⁸ Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade', p. 153.

⁴⁹ R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London, 1962), pp. 63–6, 228–9. The text was printed in Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient*, II: 18–20, no. 5.

⁵⁰ *Le Livre des fais*, p. 91.

⁵¹ *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, trans. J. Buchan Telfer (London, 1879), pp. 1, 3, 4.

'I have never been able to get this business of loans and interests into my head. I have never managed to understand it.'⁵² No doubt some of those who enthused on behalf of crusading in the period stretching from the fall of Acre to the early fifteenth century would have sympathized with this frank confession by Philip II of Spain that he had no head for figures. Sanudo's estimates, for example, owe their value in part to the fact that they are almost unique among the copious writings of recovery theorists of his period. But the broad outlines of the financial situation were clear enough, at least as they applied to combat against the Mamluks and the Anatolian Turks, and to a large extent elsewhere too. The cost of naval activity was both most easily worked out and most affordable, especially if indulgences were liberally marketed on its behalf, as they were under Popes Clement V and VI. Relatively small-scale armies, raised through standard procedures, paid wages, and fighting for a defined period of time, could be priced fairly accurately. The estimates for these were often daunting and the context was usually an attempt to secure adequate funding from the pope, representative bodies, or possible allies. Assembling a host for a general passage was another matter altogether. In that case factors of uncertainty entered the situation which were more taxing even than those which faced people trying to plan such a campaign in secular warfare. How large would the army be and what reliance could be placed on its remaining intact? How many of its members would require wages, either from the start or from some point during the campaign when they fell into indigence? What would its command structure be? When account is also taken of the dangers involved in preaching a general passage, it becomes steadily less surprising that crusading hosts on this scale were avoided, except in the special circumstances which existed in Iberia. It is a truism that crusading became inexorably more expensive as time went on, but it was a development of which contemporaries seem to have been aware. The result is a strengthening of the argument that in this period, as earlier, few people contemplated crusading for the sake of their financial well-being.

⁵² Quoted in G. Parker, *Philip II* (London, 1978), p. 123.

The crusading motivation of the Italian city republics in the Latin East, 1096–1104

Christopher Marshall

Throughout the two hundred years of its existence, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was heavily reliant on the Italian city republics for the import and export of goods. In the early years of the kingdom's history, this dependence extended to the military sphere. Because the Latins in the East did not possess a fleet of their own, the Italian ships were essential for the successful capture of coastal cities such as Caesarea, Haifa and Acre. The role of the Venetians at Haifa in 1100 was, according to one of the earliest accounts of this period of the kingdom's history, 'in order that, blockaded and oppressed by both sea and land, the town should be captured.'¹ As an acknowledgement of the key role which the Italians played, major commercial privileges were granted in the cities and ports of the kingdom. In the case of the Genoese, these were as much as total exemption on the usual entrance, exit, buying and selling duties at the *chaîne* and the *fonde*, although such extensive rights became increasingly rare in the course of the twelfth century.²

In spite of the remarkable privileges which the Italians received, the structure of trade was such as to ensure that there was little loss of revenue for the kingdom.³ However, it still seems that historians, tending to concentrate on the commercial angle of the Italians' role in the Latin East, have

An earlier version of this essay was written as part of a University of London MA, under the supervision of Jonathan Riley-Smith, in 1982. I am deeply indebted to Peter Edbury for his support and encouragement.

¹ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia Hierosolymitana', *RHC Oc.* 4: 520.

² On the commercial role of the Italians in the Latin East, see M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), *passim*; W. Heyd and F. Raynaud, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–6), 1: 131–90, 310–59; C. Cahen, 'Orient Latin et commerce du Levant', *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 29 (1951), 328–46; J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), pp. 85–93, 391–402; J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 217–49.

³ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants', in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 109–32.

assumed that from the time of the kingdom's establishment the priorities of the city republics lay, to the exclusion of all else, with the exploitation of commercial opportunities. One historian of Genoese trade, for example, has remarked that 'it would almost seem to them . . . [that] the crusade was a matter of indifference except as it affected their material prosperity'.⁴ Historians' views may also, not unnaturally, have been coloured by the Italians' later involvement in some of the more controversial aspects of both the crusading movement and the politics of the Latin East. This is perhaps most true of the Venetians, whose contribution to the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople attracted bitter criticism from Innocent III.⁵ By the middle of the thirteenth century, the Italians were fighting amongst themselves, and with other Christian factions, in a conflict over property in Acre which caused enormous damage and loss of life.⁶ It is easy, given this background, to be cynical about the Italians' motivations from the time of the First Crusade.

Contemporary writers did, in fact, recognize that even the earliest crusaders would have many different reasons for taking the Cross.⁷ In the case of the Italians, it would be foolish to argue that commercial prospects played no part in their military involvement, just as it would be to suggest that all crusaders were motivated by purely religious factors. At the same time it appears, from considering largely contemporary accounts, that there was a strong religious element in the Italian expeditions to the Holy Land in this period.⁸ So the Italians' military involvement in the Latin East at this time resulted from, on the one hand, their search for a stake in the commercial opportunities of the new kingdom, and on the other, an awareness of the spiritual value pertaining to the crusade and the subsequent defence and expansion of the Latin kingdom. The two elements should by no means be regarded as mutually exclusive. When the Venetians came to the Holy Land in 1100, for example, their willingness to serve 'for the honour of God and the help and aid of the Christians' resulted in promises of extensive

⁴ E. H. Byrne, 'Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century', *AHR* 25 (1919-20), 193.

⁵ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215: 699-702. There is a vast amount of literature devoted to this crusade. For a clear summary of events, and the Venetians' part in them, see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), pp. 121-30.

⁶ C. J. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 39-41.

⁷ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100', *EHR* 98 (1983), 721.

⁸ In the case of the Genoese and Pisans, involvement in the crusade resulted from direct appeals from the pope, rather than from their own initiative. J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 17, 108.

trading privileges in any cities that might be captured.⁹ No contradiction was seen in religious devotion and commercial interest combining to produce commitment to the defence of the kingdom. Similarly, Fulcher of Chartres stated that commercial privileges were granted to the Genoese who were present in the Latin East in 1100–1 'as long as they wished to remain in the Holy Land on account of the love of God'.¹⁰ Again, military commitment arose from a combination of religious devotion and commercial awareness.

The materials used for this essay have been largely restricted to narrative accounts and, as far as possible, contemporary ones. Through such sources, we are able to examine a number of aspects of the Italians' spiritual motivation and religious devotion, including whether they can be considered as crusaders, the terms in which they were recruited for such journeys, their inspiration when on crusade as revealed by exhortations to them by both clergy and laity, and more specific elements of their religious devotion, such as the pilgrimage element of the journey and their concern with relics.

The major commitment on the part of the Italians to the crusade and subsequently to the Latin kingdom came from the city republics of Genoa, Venice and Pisa.¹¹ The Genoese were the most active in the period c. 1096–1104, sending out five fleets. The first of these, consisting of thirteen vessels, left Genoa in July 1097. In November they arrived at Suwaidiyah, and were heavily involved in the siege of Antioch.¹² In June 1099 news came to the crusaders besieging Jerusalem of a Genoese fleet at Jaffa, and the Genoese were invited to help with the siege of the city.¹³ In August 1100 an expedition of around thirty vessels left Genoa. It had with it Caffaro de Caschifellone, which means that his accounts of the events of the journey, in the *Liberatio* and the *Annales*, are particularly valuable. The fleet wintered at Laodicea, and then went on to Haifa, thence to Jaffa,

⁹ Monachus Littorensis, 'Historia de translatione sanctorum magni Nicolai, terra marique miraculis gloriosi, ejusdem avunculi, alterius Nicolai, Theodorique, martyris pretiosi, de civitate Mirea in monasterium S. Nicolai de Littore Venetiarum', *RHC Oc.* 5: 271–2. Urban II may have referred to opportunities to make money in his crusading sermons. See Riley-Smith, 'Motives of the Earliest Crusaders', p. 722.

¹⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 397.

¹¹ For a full account of Genoese, Venetian and Pisan involvement in the First Crusade and the establishment of the Latin states, see Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 39–111.

¹² Caffaro, 'De liberatione civitatum orientis', ed. L. T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 11–14b, 5 vols. (Genoa, 1890–1929), 1: 102; Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 9 (Paris, 1969), p. 49.

¹³ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 110; Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, p. 141; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. M. T. Hill (London, 1962), p. 88.

before celebrating Easter at Jerusalem. Both Arsuf and Caesarea were taken, although this was a time of crisis for the Latin settlement, following the death of Godfrey of Bouillon and the capture of Bohemond of Antioch.¹⁴ On the way back to Genoa, at Corfu, Caffaro reported that another Genoese fleet going east was encountered. Later, in February 1102, this fleet of seventeen vessels was involved in the siege of Tortosa.¹⁵ Finally, another major Genoese fleet of forty vessels, after spending the winter of 1103–4 at Laodicea, helped Baldwin I with the siege of Gibelet and then, from April to May, with the siege of Acre.¹⁶ With the fall of this latter city, the initial difficulties which the kingdom had faced were overcome, and the Genoese did not commit major numbers to the defence of the Latin East for another six years.

We turn now to the involvement of the Pisans and the Venetians. In the summer of 1099 a Pisan fleet of 120 vessels led by Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, set off for the East and helped with the capture of Laodicea and Gibelet. They remained at Jerusalem for a considerable time, possibly because of Daimbert's ambitions to become patriarch of Jerusalem, and then, having assisted Godfrey with the rebuilding of Jaffa, returned home.¹⁷ Albert of Aachen reported that there was also a Pisan element in the force which captured Acre in 1104.¹⁸ The Venetians may have contributed to the armies of the First Crusade, but there are specific details of only one expedition in this period. In 1099–1100, a Venetian force wintered at Rhodes, went on to Myra, and from there travelled to Palestine, where its leaders agreed to aid the kingdom for the period from 24 June to 15 August. Although it was originally intended to besiege Acre, this idea was abandoned after the death of Godfrey and thus the Venetians helped instead at the siege of Haifa, after which they returned home.¹⁹ Although their contribution was relatively limited, the main source for the event, written by an anonymous monk of Lido, is valuable as an expression of ideas related to the motivation of the Italians. The work was composed around 1116. As far as the crusade is concerned, it is an accurate account. However, much of the text is a description of the translation of the body of St Nicholas, bishop of Myra,

¹⁴ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', pp. 111–12; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, pp. 393–405; Caffaro, 'Annales', ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi*, 1: 7–13.

¹⁵ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', pp. 118–19; Caffaro, 'Annales', p. 14.

¹⁶ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia', pp. 605–8; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', pp. 120–1; Caffaro, 'Annales', pp. 13–14.

¹⁷ 'Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem', *RHC Oc.* 5: 368.

¹⁸ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia', pp. 605–8.

¹⁹ Monachus Littorensis, 'Historia de translatione', pp. 253–81 *passim* (including, at p. 255, brief references to Venetian involvement in the First Crusade); 'Annales Venetici Breves', *MGHS* 14: 70.

to Venice; since it adheres so closely to the typical form of such *translationes*, it has to be regarded as historically dubious.²⁰

What was the ideological position of the Italians, within the context of the First Crusade army and the expeditions that went out to the east soon after the capture of Jerusalem? If one takes the view that the Italians were looking for commercial opportunities from the outset, then it would be reasonable to expect them to be portrayed as an independent force within the crusade army as a whole. Contemporary accounts make it clear that this was not the case. First, the image of the Christian Republic, which was particularly important to the crusades,²¹ obviously included the Italians. The point is illustrated in the *Liber* of Raymond of Aguilers and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*. In the former, it is noted that 'a message came to us that six of our ships had anchored at Jaffa'.²² And the latter states that 'after the messenger from our ships came, our leaders took counsel and decided to send knights who should faithfully look after the men and ships in the port of Jaffa'.²³ This expresses the unity of the army, in spite of its diversity. The Genoese referred to in this case were an integral part of the force that aimed to capture Jerusalem, and their importance to the army is apparent from the decision to send men to protect them at Jaffa.

But the link goes further than this. The Italians were not merely regarded as a part of a force organized on behalf of the Christian Republic, of which some were crusaders. They were undoubtedly crusaders themselves, people who had taken the Cross and would receive the spiritual and temporal privileges which resulted from such an act.²⁴ If this had not been the case, then material factors might have been seen to predominate. This is not to suggest that simply because they were crusaders, religious devotion was uppermost in the minds of all of them. However, the nature of the crusade, a war fought on behalf of God for which participants could earn the remission of their sins, produced a huge response on these terms from western Christendom at the end of the eleventh century. The Italians were caught up in this fervour. Nor would it be right to believe that they held back to see whether the movement would be a success before committing themselves to it. For the Genoese at least, their devotion to the crusade was apparent from the time of its inception.

²⁰ On this form of literature, see P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1978), pp. 11–16 and *passim*. Bari had acquired the body of St Nicholas from Myra in 1087. The account of the translation in the 'Historia de translatione', pp. 115–27, may therefore reflect Venetian envy at Bari's growing fame as a centre for pilgrimage.

²¹ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 2nd edn (London, 1992), pp. 23–4.

²² Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, p. 141. ²³ *Gesta Francorum*, p. 88.

²⁴ On these privileges, see Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, pp. 54–63.

Of the first Genoese fleet, which set out in July 1097, Caffaro reported that 'when the sermon was completed and the apostolic embassy had been heard, many of the better Genoese that day took up the Cross'.²⁵ The fact that the higher ranks of the Genoese became crusaders indicates the importance that the city attached to the cause of the crusade. Similarly, when engaged in conflict in the east, the Genoese at the siege of Caesarea in 1101 were portrayed in terms that make it perfectly clear that they were crusaders: 'The Genoese bore the Cross on their right shoulder . . . and called Christ in their need.'²⁶ The Genoese force that contributed to the capture of Acre was 'moved to the service of the Lord'.²⁷ Such an expression is typical of crusade terminology. The evidence for the Pisans is rather limited, but the fact that their journey was considered to have been undertaken 'by order of the Lord Pope Urban II'²⁸ indicates that they took up the Cross. There is plenty of information on the Venetians, however, and this makes it clear that they were regarded as crusaders too. The Venetian expedition of 1100 was led by the doge's son Giovanni Michiel and by Enrico Contarini, bishop of Castello. The latter 'took up the sign of the Cross in the way of the Lord'.²⁹ The bishop, imploring God to aid the Venetians with regard to the relic of St Nicholas, referred to them as 'we who bear your Cross, we who follow you'.³⁰ When encouraging the rest of the Venetians in a sermon delivered in Jerusalem, Enrico again stressed their role as crusaders: 'You were redeemed by his death, you wear the sign of his Cross, you long for his glorious Sepulchre.'³¹ At the siege of Haifa, all the crusaders, both Franks and Venetians, were described as 'knights of Christ'.³² Not only the Venetian sources described them as crusaders: Albert of Aachen, referring to the siege of Haifa, stated: 'It was determined that the said Venetian pilgrims should surround the castle . . . with ships',³³ *peregrini* being one of a number of words which were used by contemporaries to describe crusaders.

The accounts of the Italians' involvement in the crusade express many ideas found in contemporary crusading thought. The omnipotence and interventionary nature of God, for example, is constantly referred to.³⁴ When the Christians, including the Genoese, were besieged in Antioch by the Turks, the bishops told them 'that they should stand through all that day in prayers, entreating God that he would respond to their prayers, and

²⁵ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 102.

²⁶ Caffaro, 'Annales', p. 12.

²⁷ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 121.

²⁸ 'Annales Pisani di Bernado Maragone', *RISNS* 6/2: 7.

²⁹ 'Historia de translatione', p. 255.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 276.

³³ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia', p. 520.

³⁴ See J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'An Approach to Crusading Ethics', *Reading Medieval Studies* 6 (1980), 11-13; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 139-42 and *passim*.

through mercy he would show them a secure road . . . against the enemies'.³⁵ In conflict with Kerbogha, the bishops of the army cried, 'Rise up, oh Lord, and come to your just cause!'³⁶ Thus the crusade was envisaged as God's war. Success could only be through the omnipotence of the Lord, but failure was due to the sins of the combatants.

God helped his chosen people in many different ways. Caffaro referred to a number of visions and he also mentioned miracles that God brought about. At the siege of Tortosa in 1102, 'the bells sounded by themselves, and the gates of the city were opened . . . they knew it was a miracle of the Lord'.³⁷ Caffaro also portrayed the Genoese as martyrs when he stated that 'the Turkish soldiers, rejoicing at killing many Genoese martyrs, hurried to return to Antioch'.³⁸ The image of love – a powerful motive to crusade – was used in relation to the Italians at the time of the First Crusade. Christ's commandment to 'love thy neighbour' had produced diverse forms of charity in the course of the eleventh century, and in certain circumstances violence could be seen as an act of love.³⁹ Often this was expressed as love of God, through denial of self, as in the speech purportedly made by Tancred to the Venetians: 'we serve for the desire and love of the Celestial King . . . let us fulfil the labour of knights studiously and devotedly'.⁴⁰ Many of the crusade accounts of this period were preoccupied with Old Testament analogies, and a number of such references were made with regard to the Italians. They were 'soldiers of Christ and fresh and strong athletes' who should 'strive as much as your brothers . . . [to] obtain the rewards given to the blessed Maccabees'.⁴¹ As soldiers of Christ, they were as much crusaders as were the Franks. The reference to athletes reflects the transference of a term which, previously limited to the warfare of the soul, had in the course of the eleventh century become imbued with an increased military significance. The reference to brothers and to the Maccabees indicates ideas which were very common in contemporary crusade writings. There is no doubt that the Italians were crusaders and deserve to be considered as a truly integral part of the movement. Further, the contemporary writings that deal particularly with the Italians are, especially in the cases of major accounts such as those of Caffaro and the anonymous monk of Lido, worthy of greater consideration as works pertaining to the crusade.

³⁵ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 107. ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119; see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 98–9 and *passim*.

³⁸ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 103; see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 114–16.

³⁹ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 177–92.

⁴⁰ 'Historia de translatione', p. 275. ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

We now turn to the far less tractable questions of why the Italians became crusaders, and what motivated them when they were on the crusade. The first aspects to be considered are what, spiritually, prompted the Italians to go on crusade, and how they were recruited. Spiritual motivation played a large part in persuading the Italians to take the Cross. In a letter of September 1096 to his partisans at Bologna, Urban II was pleased to find that many had already decided to take the Cross. However, he gave a powerful exhortation that this should be for religious devotion, not for material gain: 'if any men among you go there not because they desire earthly profit but only for the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the Church, we . . . relieve them of all penance imposed for their sins'.⁴² In 1099, it is briefly noted, the Pisans set out 'in 120 ships, for the freeing of Jerusalem from the hands of the pagans'.⁴³ The reference to the need to free Jerusalem accords well with Urban's known statements regarding the need to liberate the eastern churches.⁴⁴ The point is reinforced by a letter of August 1100 from Paschal II to the Pisan consuls, in which he praised the piety and devotion of the Pisan people and their achievements in the east.⁴⁵ In a lost letter to Archbishop Anselm of Milan, dated the first half of 1099, Urban II encouraged his correspondent to gather an army for the freeing of the Holy Land.⁴⁶ This appeal too was successful. It persuaded the Milanese to journey to the east. 'Archbishop Anselm . . . having been admonished by apostolic authority . . . strove to gather an army of many different people, which would attack the kingdom of Egypt . . . and he instructed the young . . . Milanese to take up the Cross.'⁴⁷

The Genoese fleet of 1097 had also needed some encouragement from the papacy. Caffaro recorded the event. He noted that a sermon was preached to the Genoese by the bishops of Grenoble and Orange, who had been sent by the pope to Genoa, 'and there they made known the apostolic message about the service of God and the Holy Sepulchre, just as the pope had preached, for the remission of all sins'.⁴⁸ This sermon disregarded the material element in the crusade, and it is therefore safe to assume that the recorded Genoese response reflected their religious fervour. 'With the sermon completed and the apostolic message heard, many of the better Genoese that day took up the Cross.' As a result of this decision, the two

⁴² *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 138.

⁴³ 'Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum', p. 368.

⁴⁴ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 18. ⁴⁵ *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 179–81.

⁴⁶ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontificia*, ed. P. F. Kehr, W. Holtzmann and D. Girgensohn, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1906–62, and Zurich, 1975), vi: 54.

⁴⁷ Landulfus de Sancto Paulo, 'Historia Mediolanensis', *MGHS* 20: 22.

⁴⁸ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 101.

bishops 'confirmed that they would have the reward of eternal life'.⁴⁹ So the members of this Genoese fleet took up the Cross ostensibly in response to the offer of spiritual rewards. The crusade presented an opportunity of salvation that rarely came to laymen unless they entered a monastery. It is hard to believe that the religious side of the crusade was a matter of indifference to the Genoese, who seem to have reacted enthusiastically to the prospects that were laid before them by the two bishops.

Although other recorded instances of decisions being reached to go on crusade do not include such spiritually charged motivatory statements, they are still noteworthy in that such occasions always seem to have been in a ferment of enthusiasm, and against a background of religious awareness. A good example is the departure of the Venetians for the east in the autumn of 1099. Their decision to go seems to have been largely prompted by their own yearnings, though there is a fascinating reference to the fact that their initial presence on the crusade had not fulfilled the indulgence. Because of this, they decided to send a further expedition. The clergy and people demanded the appointment of Enrico, bishop of Castello, as spiritual guide, and Giovanni Michiel as leader of the army and fleet. The bishop was said to have been 'overcome by . . . [amongst other factors] the entreaties of the clergy and people'.⁵⁰ So it was the Venetians themselves who, 'taking the Cross, decided to send help in the acquisition of the Holy Land'.⁵¹ The religious overtones of the accounts which describe the fleet's send-off appear to confirm that religious inspiration was a key to their departure. The Venetians who were actually going to the east set off 'having listened to the preaching . . . by the patriarch and other bishops, and having all individually confirmed the sacred blessing', whilst the religious element is further stressed by the presence of the clergy and monks of the city who 'urged the ships on with prayers'.⁵² Thus the initial desire to go on crusade in order to gain the indulgence, the entreating of the bishop of Castello to join them, and the manner in which the fleet set out for the east, were all dominated by motivation on a spiritual level.

As we have seen, the Genoese were the most involved of the Italians in the early history of the Latin kingdom. Two more examples indicate their spiritual inspiration. First, the major Genoese fleet of 1100-1 was said to have been inspired by letters 'about aiding and helping the Sepulchre of the Lord . . . [Having been in a state of civil war for a year and a half] they

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102. ⁵⁰ 'Historia de translatione', p. 255.

⁵¹ Andreas Dandolo, 'Chronica per extensum descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.', *RISNS* 12/1: 221.

⁵² 'Historia de translatione', p. 256.

abandoned arms, and so many of them took up the Cross that twenty-six galleys and four sailing ships vigorously brought the honourable pilgrims all the way to . . . Laodicea for the service of God and the Holy Sepulchre'.⁵³ Their ardour for the crusade had thus brought an end to civil strife in Genoa, and the large size of the fleet as reported by Caffaro suggests that this was far more than merely a commercial exercise. This commitment is underlined by their attitude when in the east, a point that we shall return to later. The Genoese fleet of 1103-4 was similarly 'moved to the service of the Lord'.⁵⁴ The Italians were caught up in the emotions that gripped the west concerning the defence of the Holy Land. Undeniably their decision to 'serve the Lord', as they saw it, was in part a consequence of this spiritual prompting. And the spiritual element continued to loom large in their minds when they were actually in the east.

We can examine this continuing inspiration on a spiritual level through the exhortations to them, by both laity and clergy, which are contained in the accounts of their actions during this period. These speeches are, of course, what the chroniclers put into the mouths of the speakers. Nonetheless, they remain a valuable means of examining the attitude to the Italians in the east during this period. Such statements often allude to the prospective spiritual rewards which could accrue to the Italians. We are often able to gauge, from their recorded responses, whether such an approach was successful. Appeals to the Italians by the laity, normally the Latin princes, were almost entirely in religious terms. At the siege of Antioch, two such appeals referred purely to the fact that, by taking up the conflict, the Genoese would thus be serving the Lord, and would gain the spiritual rewards for such an act. Bohemond reminded the Genoese that 'you came to these parts for the service of God, and you have wished to have the reward of refreshing your soul'. In spite of the absence of any reference to a material reward, the Genoese accepted this entreaty.⁵⁵ Similarly, the Genoese were told not to delay coming, 'for God's war . . . [whereupon] the Genoese, having heard the message, hurriedly came to Antioch'.⁵⁶ Tancred is reported to have urged the Venetians to aid the kingdom in similar terms, just after the death of Godfrey of Bouillon. He argued that since the conflict was purely on behalf of God, it followed that any reward would similarly be on a spiritual level: 'we are not taught by nor fear an earthly ruler, but we serve . . . the Celestial King . . . let us fulfil the labour of knights studiously and devotedly'. Responding to this admonition, the Venetians

⁵³ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', pp. 111-12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

followed Tancred to the siege of Haifa.⁵⁷ With reference to the siege of Acre, Baldwin I sent a message to the Pisans and Genoese 'that for the cause of God and Holy Jerusalem, they should besiege the city of . . . Acre by sea . . . whilst he with the aid of God and many of the faithful of Christ, would place a blockade on land'.⁵⁸ This account is typical of contemporary crusade language. Again, the appeal to the Italians identifies a spiritual reward, to be gained through fighting on behalf of the Lord.

The point is reinforced by evidence that the Italian laity encouraged one another by spiritual motivation. Caffaro, an eyewitness of the siege of Caesarea in 1101, reported a speech by the Genoese consul, Guglielmo Caputmallus: 'Oh citizens and warriors of the Lord, you heard the wish of the Lord . . . therefore we entreat you, under the debt of the sacrament, that in the morning, after mass, having made confession and received the body and blood of the Lord . . . you should make for the walls of the city.'⁵⁹ He thus motivated his fellow-Genoese purely in spiritual terms. There is no hint of material rewards to be gained from the siege; rather, it was their obligation to carry out this work, because the Lord wished it. It is also significant that he emphasized the need for the soldiers to be in the correct frame of mind, through confession and communion. The need for *intentio recta* in a just war had been acknowledged for centuries,⁶⁰ but the emphasis on it here further stresses that this is especially a conflict for the Lord.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the clergy connected with the Italians in the Holy Land should have emphasized the religious elements of their inspiration. The Italians came into contact with three major clerics in their expeditions to the Latin East, and we have evidence for the attempts of each of them to inspire those engaged in conflict. At Antioch, Adhemar of Le Puy encouraged all the crusaders, including the Genoese: 'you began this journey for the remission of sins, and you came to these parts, do not hold back or be frightened'.⁶¹ This was a time of great crisis for the crusade as a whole, so it is obviously significant that Adhemar should be reported to have pointed out the spiritual prospects to the crusaders. The journey had not been made for temporal gain, but 'for the remission of sins'. It was because of this that the crusaders should press on with their work. Daimbert of Pisa, outside Caesarea, addressed the Genoese as being totally responsible to the wishes of the Lord: 'you came to these parts for the

⁵⁷ 'Historia de translatione', p. 275.

⁵⁸ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia', p. 606.

⁵⁹ Caffaro, 'Annales', p. 11.

⁶⁰ See, for example, F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 17-23 and *passim*; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, pp. 7-8.

⁶¹ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 106.

service of the Lord and the Holy Sepulchre . . . the Lord orders and entreats you . . . that on the day of his Passion, on which he accepted temporal death for your redemption, you should receive the body and the blood of the Lord, and . . . you should begin to climb the walls of the city'.⁶² Once again, the Genoese were referred to as being in the east only to serve God, not for their own material ends. And in this case, the degree of religious inspiration was increased by the fact that the Genoese would be fighting on the day of the Lord's Passion. The importance of this day to those who wore the Cross of Christ, the Cross by which humanity was redeemed, would have been immense.

The plea of Daimbert of Pisa was not the only occasion when the spiritual significance of the Cross was stressed to the Italians. When the Venetians wintered at Rhodes in 1100, they were faced by threats from the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I. In a sermon to give strength to the Venetians, Enrico of Castello is said to have emphasized the importance to them of the Cross and, just as significantly, the need to be aware of the frailty and temporary nature of human life. This justified the dominance of spiritual over temporal concerns: 'when Christ ordered you to take up his Cross, not only did he entreat you to bear it, but truly to follow him. Because things are transitory . . . so much more should we obey the Lord, and unless we complete faithfully the vow we took up . . . we clearly deny that we carry the burden of his sign.' Thus when the Venetians had taken the Cross, they had accepted a total subordination of material ends to the spiritual end of following the Lord. By placing emphasis on the 'transitory' life on earth, the bishop went even further – to think of temporal concerns in such a context would be irrelevant. Because of this, 'so much more should we obey the Lord'; unless the Venetians did this, they would suffer both temporal and, in this context more importantly, spiritual condemnation: 'we shall face the wrath of God and the infamy of men'. The response of the Venetians indicated the effect that such spiritual advice had on them. They were now prepared to face any eventuality, with 'all having thus been joined together and confirmed in the service of the Lord'.⁶³

When the Venetians arrived at Jerusalem, the bishop of Castello was invited to give a sermon. The account of this is important not only as being typical of contemporary crusade ideology, but also as a further demonstration of the means by which the Italians were inspired when in the Holy Land. He emphasized, first, the need for continued defence of the Latin East. This was regarded as being a particularly sacred task, even if it should

⁶² Caffaro, *'Annales'*, pp. 10–11.

⁶³ *'Historia de translatione'*, p. 257.

not be seen as truly a part of the crusade.⁶⁴ The Venetians were crusaders, of course, but they were now engaged in this task, quite literally fighting on a relic. Pointing out the need for this duty to be performed was thus in itself a spiritual exhortation. 'For it would be of no benefit, rather it would hinder much, if this Holy Land, having been freed from the enemies of the Lord, should be occupied by them a second time.' Enrico did not argue that by acts of war material ends and temporal glory would be obtained. Rather, warfare could bring rewards on a spiritual level. Thus the Venetians, 'soldiers of Christ and fresh and strong athletes', should strive to 'obtain the rewards given to the blessed Maccabees'.⁶⁵ The Old Testament allusion again indicates the means by which the Italians were motivated. As crusaders, of course, the Italians received various privileges, both temporal and spiritual, but it is the latter that the bishop of Castello mentioned, specifically referring to the indulgence: 'you were redeemed by his death, you wear the sign of his Cross, you long for his glorious Sepulchre . . . and through prayers and all the other holy things, for past sins he gives you remission and indulgence, for those of the present absolution and forgiveness, and for those of the future the protection of his grace'. Once more there is reference to the particular link of the crusaders with the Incarnate God, as they bore the sign of the Cross, but it is even more significant that at the end of this sermon the bishop should attempt to rouse the people by means of one of the major spiritual privileges which was granted to the crusaders. At the end of the eleventh century, when laymen desired salvation but did not really know how to gain it, the crusade was looked upon as a wonderful opportunity to be saved. It was an opportunity which the Venetians had chosen to take up, and the bishop of Castello is portrayed as considering it to be a key means to maintain the Venetians' commitment to the defence of the Holy Land.⁶⁶ Following this sermon, the Venetians returned to Jaffa, and thence prepared to fight for a cause which was depicted as being seen by them in substantially religious terms. Both lay and clerical elements chose to appeal to the Italians in this way, and the Italians responded by fighting 'for the cause of God and Holy Jerusalem'.⁶⁷

So the Italians were involved in the Holy Land as crusaders and they saw themselves, and were seen by others, as aware of the spiritual elements which were uppermost in the taking of the crusade vow. When they took

⁶⁴ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established: The Case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 28 (1978), 87-9.

⁶⁵ 'Historia de translatione', p. 273.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274. See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 27-30 and *passim*.

⁶⁷ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia', p. 606.

up the Cross, they were described as doing so as a result of entreaties which were based largely on the spiritual side of crusading. When they were in the east, their services as crusaders were requested, and their courage was lifted, by similarly spiritually charged exhortations. We now move on to consider some broader devotional aspects of their crusading.

The crusade embodied not only devotion in the sense of fighting God's war to win and protect the Latin East from the infidel. It also included devotion on a more spiritual level, through worshipping at Jerusalem and the other holy sites, and through a general awareness of the religious, as well as the military, function that the crusader had to fulfil as a *peregrinus*. The religious devotion of the Italians is heightened by the emphasis, in the sources, on the pilgrimage aspect of the crusade. For example, Caffaro stressed the religious devotion of men who would become crusaders in an account which purported to show events before the crusade took place. 'Duke Godfrey with the count of Flanders and other noble men, wishing to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord, came to Genoa and there they boarded a Genoese ship . . . they entered through the gate and they visited the Sepulchre of the Lord and other sanctuaries, and the manger of the Lord . . . and they continued to the Jordan where Christ was baptized by John.'⁶⁸ This account illustrates very clearly the form which pilgrimages to Jerusalem took before that city was retaken by the crusaders.⁶⁹ Comparison with accounts of the crusade itself emphasizes the important role which the pilgrimage tradition retained.

The first detailed account of the religious devotion of the Italians in the Holy Land during this period concerns the Genoese fleet which was in the east in 1100-1, and on which Caffaro had sailed. His presence as an eyewitness makes his statement particularly important. The culmination of the Genoese devotions came at Easter 1101. At Haifa, on Palm Sunday, 'they celebrated the office of the Lord with devotion'⁷⁰ before going on to Jerusalem for the climax of their pilgrimage. As *milites Christi*, people who had left their homes and taken the Cross largely as a result of devotion to Christ, they, who wore the sign of the Cross by which he had redeemed humanity, now found themselves celebrating this event at the very place of his Passion. Caffaro's account of the presence of the Genoese at Jerusalem expresses perfectly the extent of the devotion which they felt for the pilgrimage element of their role in the east, and their joy when their prayers and entreaties to the Lord were answered. With Baldwin I, the Genoese

⁶⁸ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', pp. 99-100.

⁶⁹ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 20-1.

⁷⁰ Caffaro, 'Annales', p. 7.

went to the Sepulchre of the Lord, and fasted through day and night, watching that the light of Christ should come. And that day and night it did not come; and standing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre without light, again and again all cried with one voice, '*Kyrie Eleeson, Kyrie Eleeson*' . . . [After a sermon by Daimbert] with bare feet and great devotion, they came to the Temple of the Lord, and at the entrance to the Temple all pleaded humbly to God with many entreaties and prayers . . . that he would show the light through his mercy to the faithful this day, the day of his Resurrection.

And when the Holy Fire was finally ignited, 'delighted, all took up the *Te Deum* with one voice'.⁷¹ This passage clearly illustrates the religious devotion of the Italians, in their desire to see the Holy Fire lit; the penitential aspect of the pilgrimage, as they fasted in the Sepulchre; their dismay as the Holy Fire remained dead; their appeal to the Lord to intervene, particularly on the day of the Resurrection, which was especially significant to the crusaders; and their unrestrained joy as the fire was finally ignited. The practice of secretly lighting the Holy Fire for the benefit of pilgrims at Jerusalem was later prohibited, but here we have a wonderful evocation of the effect which the fulfilment of a vow to pilgrimage, combined with the obvious religious devotion of the Genoese, could have.

Yet this was not quite the end of the pilgrimage for Caffaro and the rest of the Genoese. 'The Genoese in the week of festivities went to the Jordan, and afterwards they returned to Jaffa with the king, and there they made a plan.'⁷² Here, a very distinct division is drawn between the two elements of the crusade. The Genoese had now completed their pilgrimage and they could turn to the question of warfare on behalf of the kingdom – but the two are clearly divided. This is also the case when considering the Genoese expedition of 1101–2. They 'came to Jerusalem and visited the Sepulchre of the Lord. And when their visit was completed they continued to Tortosa.'⁷³ The Genoese roles, as *peregrini* and as *milites Christi*, seem to have been kept well apart. The same point can be seen in the account of the Venetian crusaders to the Holy Land in 1100. Just like the Genoese, they showed a high level of religious devotion, but ideas relating to the pilgrimage and to their function as warriors were not intermingled: 'the pilgrims, who were accustomed to seek and to make offerings at all the holy places, visited inside and outside the city with great devotion and with remorseful tears . . . Having suitably and religiously accomplished what sufficed with the Lord's pilgrimage' the Venetians turned their attention to warfare. The same distinction is apparent in the case of the other Venetians, who had

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷³ Caffaro, 'De liberatione', p. 118.

remained protecting the fleet at Jaffa. 'The comrades who had remained [went to Jerusalem] . . . and, having similarly pilgrimaged to the holy places, and having fulfilled other works of piety, with joyful spirits they returned to their leaders' and prepared themselves for the siege of Acre, although of course this did not happen.⁷⁴ And Albert of Aachen stated that, in 1103, 'once again the Pisans and Genoese . . . had assembled for the purpose of worshipping at Jerusalem'.⁷⁵ After this, they began military action against the cities of Gibelet and Acre. These accounts seem to express a slight shift in the concept of the crusade. Urban II had joined the elements of pilgrimage and holy war together, but at the time of the First Crusade these two sides were inevitably intermingled – the taking of Jerusalem was as much the fulfilment of the pilgrimage element of the crusade as it was the war element. Now, with Jerusalem safely in Christian hands, the two ideas seem to have become somewhat more distinct. Pilgrimage was followed by warfare, rather than the two being intermingled. Perhaps Erdmann's concept of the separation of the *Marschziel* and *Kriegsziel* is in a sense applicable to events after the First Crusade rather than to the crusade itself.⁷⁶ Certainly, accounts of the Italians in the Holy Land see their religious devotion to the pilgrimage as quite distinct from their motivation to engage in war on a spiritual level.

The account of the Venetian entry into Jerusalem in 1101 is very similar to that of the Genoese in the same year. Again, there is a stress on the penitential side of the pilgrimage, whilst their arrival in the Holy City is portrayed as the end of one part of their journey. 'The leader of the fleet and the bishop, along with half of the army, approached Jerusalem . . . on the day of the birth of St John the Baptist at around six, with bare feet, and once they had fasted they entered the Holy City with great reverence.'⁷⁷ In the sermon preached soon after their arrival by Enrico of Castello, he emphasized, before going on to consider the duty of crusaders in war, the attainment of the goal of their pilgrimage by stressing the fact that they were literally standing and worshipping on a relic. 'Today we enter into the holy tabernacle of the Lord. Today we worship in the place where the feet stood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Today we are in the Holy City . . . consecrated by the blood of Christ. Oh how joyful is today, brothers!'⁷⁸ For the Venetians,

⁷⁴ 'Historia de translatione', pp. 274–5. ⁷⁵ Albert of Aachen, 'Historia', p. 605.

⁷⁶ C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, NJ, 1977), pp. 355–71. See also H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), pp. 8–37; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970), 177–88.

⁷⁷ 'Historia de translatione', p. 272. ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

the goal of their pilgrimage had been reached. That they had not been present at the capture of Jerusalem did not matter. Rather, one of their aims, in setting out for the east, had been to complete a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and this had now been done. The day must indeed have been joyful to the Venetians.

Devotion to relics outside the context of pilgrimage is another aspect of the Italians' religious devotion. The concept of pilgrimage itself and contemporary ideas concerning the veneration of relics were intimately bound up and, as we have seen, the description of the Holy Land as a relic by the bishop of Castello came at the end of the Venetians' pilgrimage. Beyond this, awareness of the importance of relics on a religious level is still interesting. It does not relate directly to the Italians' involvement in the crusade, but it is significant as another facet of their religious devotion.⁷⁹ The major account concerning the devotion of Italians to relics in our period is that contained in the text written by the 'Monachus Littorensis', which deals with the acquisition of the body of St Nicholas of Myra, when the Venetians were on the way to the Holy Land. The worth of this account has to be questioned in terms of its relation to historical fact, but it is still indicative of the religious devotion shown by the Italians, which found an expression in so many aspects of their role in the Latin East. When the Venetians learned of what was believed to be at Myra, they hurried off without waiting to hear the advice of the bishop of Castello or of Giovanni Michiel. When they arrived at the church, however, the soldiers 'discarded their arms and in this way with floods of tears they prayed'.⁸⁰ The joy of Venice when the fleet returned there in December 1100 is shown as being just as much a consequence of the translation to there of the relics of St Nicholas as of the homecoming of the crusaders following their triumphs in the east.⁸¹ As for the crusaders themselves, their attitude to the relics can be justifiably regarded as a product of the same religious devotion that we noted in their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The translation of St Nicholas to Venice and the achievements of the Venetians in the east may be factually unrelated, but it is appropriate that they are so closely linked in the account by the 'Monachus Littorensis', since they sprang largely from the same root.

It seems impossible to generalize about the motivation of the crusaders. Even at the time of the First Crusade it is undoubtedly true that, for some men, material factors were of prime importance. Similarly, a single event such as the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, often regarded

⁷⁹ For the importance of relics during the First Crusade, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 93–8.

⁸⁰ 'Historia de translatione', p. 260. ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 278–9.

as the triumph of secularism in the crusade movement, can be portrayed as indicative of the religious devotion of the crusaders, and specifically their desire for relics.⁸² It appears that the best we can do is attempt to strike a balance between the various spiritual and material forces which prompted men to take the Cross. This is just as true in the case of the Italians as of any other group of crusaders, yet perhaps they have been rather maligned in this respect through their subsequent role in the history of the Latin East. But surely, just as one who sees the crusaders of 1204 as inspired on a material level would not therefore assume the crusaders of 1096 to have been similarly motivated, it is equally wrong to say that, because the Italian city republics by the thirteenth century had established commercial domination of the Latin East, then this had been their sole aim from the time of the First Crusade. It is clear that they were, just as the rest of western Europe, aware of the spiritual side of the crusade too. In terms of the crusade as God's war, contemporary writers recognized that the Italians' initial inspiration, and their motivation in the east, resulted from an emphasis on the spiritual rewards of such an act. As pilgrims, they showed their religious devotion at Jerusalem and the other holy places. These acts are described in terms which clearly show the profound emotional effects which the Holy Land had on them, just as on the other crusaders. In later years, the commerce of the Latin East may have led the Italians to take a more cynical view of the spiritual side of the crusade. In the period which has been dealt with here, however, spiritual motivation and religious devotion were key factors in the presence of the Italians in the Holy Land.

POSTSCRIPT: THE VENETIAN CRUSADE OF 1122-1124

The early period of the Italian involvement in the Latin East was obviously a time when commercial prospects for the area were unsettled. When one reflects on the extraordinary events of the First Crusade, and the establishment of the Latin kingdom, it could well be argued that the Italians' response to the situation was different from their later attitude. By the reign of Baldwin II, the kingdom was largely secure, and undoubtedly the Italians had assessed the potential for trade in Latin Palestine. Therefore, we might fairly expect that by the 1120s accounts of Italian expeditions to the east would be far more concerned with material ends than those which we have so far considered. It is thus appropriate to examine briefly the

⁸² A. Frolov, 'La déviation de la 4e Croisade vers Constantinople', *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 146 (1954), 194-219.

attitude of the Venetians to the Latin East on their expedition of 1122–4. This campaign resulted in the capture of Tyre, the major remaining threat to Latin authority in the kingdom, apart from Ascalon which did not fall until 1153.⁸³

As in early accounts, commercial interest and religious devotion are found together. The *Pactum Warmundi* is one of the major statements concerning the judicial as well as commercial rights of the Venetians. Significantly, therefore, it expresses the Venetian presence in the east in terms more concerned with devotion to the Holy Land than their commercial acuity. For example, it states that the doge 'came victorious to the needed defence of the Christians'.⁸⁴ Moreover, when the initial promotion of the expedition is considered, it emerges that the decision to take part was based on the Venetians' spiritual rather than commercial motivation. Exhortations came from both Baldwin II and Pope Calixtus II. The latter 'sent messengers to the aforesaid doge, diligently admonishing and encouraging him and the people of Venice . . . that they should hurry to aid the faithful of the Lord'. There can be no doubt therefore that Calixtus conceived the journey in religious terms. The point is further emphasized by the pope's sending of a *vexillum beati Petri* to the doge, thus giving particular papal blessing to the expedition to be undertaken. 'The pope sent . . . the banner of St Peter . . . [and] the doge received it reverently.' Moreover, the decision of the Venetians to go on the journey, following the advice of the doge, indicates not only that this was motivated by religious and spiritual factors, but also that it was conceived as a crusade. 'The doge . . . having reverently received the apostolic reminder, with great devotion took up the Cross with many of the nobility.'⁸⁵ In addition, the doge seems to have inspired the Venetians in terms of the need to help the Holy Land, as previous such expeditions were seen, rather than as a means of enhancing the city's commercial prospects in the east. He 'exhorted the Venetians about the offering of aid. Having prepared, with warm praise they took up the Cross.'⁸⁶

On the crusade, the Venetians similarly displayed the kind of inspiration that we have already noted. They abandoned the siege of Corfu in order to help the Christians who were clearly facing an increasing crisis in the Holy

⁸³ For the background to this crusade, see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124', in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 339–50; Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 138–49.

⁸⁴ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–7; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 1: 84.

⁸⁵ 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', *MGHS* 14: 73.

⁸⁶ Andreas Dandolo, 'Chronica', p. 232.

Land.⁸⁷ Their subsequent advance to the Latin East is described by Fulcher of Chartres in terms of their religious devotion and inspiration: 'they delayed no longer to fulfil what they had vowed to the Lord . . . [They left Corfu] having entreated the aid of God.'⁸⁸ The Venetians' achievements in the east are expressed in typical crusading terminology. In their first conflict, they fought 'with the Lord and St Mark aiding them'.⁸⁹ And the defeat of the Egyptian fleet off Jaffa by the Venetians 'had been granted to our people by divine favour',⁹⁰ reflecting again the identity of interest amongst the Christians, besides the role which an interventionary God played in the campaign. The Latin princes' request to the doge and the Venetians for help was designed to motivate, at least in part, on a religious level. The response indicated that this was entirely appropriate to the expedition's ends. 'The princes of the realm earnestly asked him to devote himself for a time to the service of Christ . . . [whereupon] the doge said that he had come with that purpose especially in view.'⁹¹ Finally, the return of the Venetians to their homeland is expressed in terms which serve again to stress the religious aspect of the journey which had been undertaken: 'and thus singing "We praise you, Lord", they returned home in delight and with much joy'.⁹²

⁸⁷ 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 73.

⁸⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, p. 657.

⁸⁹ 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 74.

⁹⁰ *WT* p. 575.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

⁹² 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 74.

Odo of Deuil's De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem as a source for the Second Crusade

Jonathan Phillips

Odo of Deuil was chaplain to King Louis VII of France during the Second Crusade. He wrote an account of the expedition, in the form of a c. 35,000-word epistolary letter addressed to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, that covered the crusade from its launch in December 1145 until the arrival of the shattered French army at Antioch in the spring of 1148.¹ This is the most detailed single work on the campaign and as such has attracted considerable attention.² It is the contention of this essay, however, that an over-heavy emphasis on certain aspects of Odo's work has obscured the full range of information he has to offer. Some of the attitudes ascribed to Odo require closer scrutiny and may not bear the analyses they have been given; furthermore, some historians have misused these ideas to form inaccurate or distorted interpretations of the Second Crusade.

Perhaps the most incisive comments on Odo's writing date back to Kugler in the mid-nineteenth century: 'He [Odo] presents the parleys and views of the contesting factions very lucidly; amid the confusion of bloody battles he stresses clearly geographically and strategically decisive facts; he maintains an ever-lively interest in new and strange phenomena, in Greek customs, and in the Turkish mode of combat.'³ Berry, in her translation, follows this line by praising Odo's work as 'an outstanding source of information . . . [that] contains a wealth of authoritative detail, the breadth and variety of which is really amazing'.⁴ Later writers have been a little less generous and draw attention to other issues. Constable acknowledged that while Odo

¹ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (Columbia, New York, 1948).

² For a close analysis of Odo's writing technique see C. A. Cioffi, 'The Epistolary Style of Odo of Deuil in his "De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem"', *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988), 76–81. For a radical interpretation of Odo's purpose in writing see B. Schuste, 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil', *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff, J. Fried and P. J. Geary (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 253–78, although the comments at p. 15 of the introduction bear no resemblance to the author's arguments.

³ B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs* (Stuttgart, 1866), pp. 12–13.

⁴ Odo, *De profectione*, p. xviii.

provided 'a remarkable historical document', the 'account is frankly devoted to the two aims of praising the king of France and of serving as a guide for future crusaders. He is therefore at all times prone to exculpate the king and to dwell on the difficulties besetting his soldiers', and that 'the alleged perfidy [of Emperor Manuel Comnenus] is almost a secondary theme of this work'.⁵ This last point of view connects with Runciman's argument that 'Odo of Deuil is throughout hysterically anti-Greek'.⁶ Angold has extended this further by suggesting that Odo's ideas (represented in this blanket anti-Greek form) were representative of the whole of Christian Europe and that as far as the failure of the Second Crusade was concerned, 'Odo of Deuil and western opinion generally found it easiest to blame Byzantium'.⁷

In essence, Odo's text is viewed as an important source, but one flawed by his narrow focus and his inflexible attitudes. This perception has become so deeply engrained that few historians look to study him for anything outside those issues identified by Constable. There are two exceptions of particular note. First, Bull used Odo to consider the legacy of Hugh of Vermandois's involvement in the First Crusade and to see how Louis VII employed this, and his own participation in the 1147–8 expedition, to reflect and enhance his own kingly status.⁸ Secondly, Mayr-Harting has discussed the planned crusade of 1150 and considered the date of composition for Odo's work. In the course of this analysis he made the elegant observation that 'Odo is a perfect example of the distinction that one must make between factual reliability, which he has, and objective judgement, which he certainly lacks'.⁹

To glean a closer insight into Odo and his writing it is worth outlining what little we know of his background. He was a monk at Saint-Denis who originated from the village of Deuil, within c. 5 kilometres of the great abbey church. He had a brother, Roger, who described himself as a knight when he witnessed charters for the abbey.¹⁰ Odo must have been a churchman of some experience and learning to rise to the position of royal chaplain. We are aware that Suger appointed him prior of La-Chapelle-Aude in Poitou in 1135 and that he helped to reform houses at Arras and Ferrières. An oblique

⁵ G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953), 217.

⁶ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–4), II: 274 n.2.

⁷ M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History*, 2nd edn (London, 1997), p. 11.

⁸ M. G. Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 40 (1996), 43–6.

⁹ H. Mayr-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. A. Meyer (London, 1993), pp. 225–41.

¹⁰ L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London, 1998), p. 76 n. 11.



insight into Odo's monastic career might be gained from his observations as the crusaders marched through Bulgaria in the late summer of 1147: 'The . . . country is wooded meadow or fodder-growing woodland, so to speak. It abounds in good things that grow of their own accord and would be suitable for other things if the region had cultivators. It is . . . located among hills that are suitable for vines and grains, and is watered by the clearest springs and streams.'¹¹ Such comments reflect the sharp eye of a churchman accustomed to supervising a monastery's extensive landholdings and trying to ensure their maximum efficiency. During Odo's time at Arras he is reported to have impressed the influential Bishop Alvisus and this helped in his appointment to the royal household.¹² Alvisus would be a prominent figure during the Second Crusade and he was obviously another useful patron to have. The origins of Odo's relationship with the king, however, are unknown. Suger was said to have been Louis's personal tutor and Odo, as a monk at Saint-Denis, may have come into contact with the young prince through this situation.

Odo's career after the crusade saw a brief abbacy at the troubled house of Compiègne where he was directed to eject a corrupt group of canons and to install monks from Saint-Denis. Then, in 1151 he succeeded Suger as abbot of Saint-Denis itself, an indication of real stature, in part gained on the crusade, but also a consequence of his earlier career and the patronage of Abbot Suger himself. Bernard of Clairvaux described Odo as a man of 'good reputation', whom he held 'in very high opinion', although there are indications that his abbacy was somewhat turbulent.¹³ Odo died in 1162.

Prior to the crusade, the bulk (if not all) of Odo's time at Saint-Denis would have been spent under Suger (who became abbot in 1122), and this must have influenced Odo considerably. The most obvious manifestation of the close ties between the two men is that Odo's crusading letter was addressed to Suger and, as noted above, one purpose of the monk's writing was to provide information for his superior to construct a history of Louis VII in the same way that the abbot had composed his *Gesta Ludovici Grossi* about the king's father.¹⁴ As a monk of Saint-Denis and a protégé of Suger, Odo would have held the Capetian dynasty (especially Louis) and the abbey's patron saint in great regard and these devotional concerns are two

¹¹ Odo, *De professione*, p. 33.

¹² William of Saint-Denis, 'Dialogus: Le dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger', ed. A. Wilmart, *Revue Mabillon* 32 (1942), p. 102.

¹³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1955-77), VIII: 200, 202; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 205-6, 235-6.

¹⁴ Suger of Saint-Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. R. C. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington DC, 1992).

central features in his account of the crusade. Interestingly, however, prior to the preaching of the Second Crusade, the abbey itself had only limited links with the crusading movement.

The preparations for the expedition and the campaign of 1147–8 would change this dramatically, and not simply through Odo's position as Louis's chaplain and Suger's regency of France. The construction of a set of windows that depicted events during the First Crusade, along with the staging of a dramatic public ceremony prior to the departure of King Louis, would do much to establish a close connection between the abbey and the crusades.¹⁵ Before these events, however, Saint-Denis was, in common with the majority of people and places in western Europe, exposed to the wave of excitement and delight caused by the success of the First Crusade and the subsequent commemoration of that event in the written word, in buildings and in individual crusader's reputations.¹⁶ As Bull has shown, through Hugh of Vermandois, the Capetians had some ties with the First Crusade, although at the end of the eleventh century the intimate connection between Saint-Denis and the French royal dynasty had yet to be developed to the intensity fostered by Abbot Suger.¹⁷ The presence at Saint-Denis of Charlemagne's standard, the oriflamme, an object believed to have been taken by the emperor on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was one link with the Holy Land. Of perhaps greater relevance to Odo was the existence at the abbey of copies of First Crusade texts. Suger's biographer, William of Saint-Denis, a former librarian at the abbey, noted that 'as a precaution', Odo had consulted narratives of the First Crusade in 'which those earlier pilgrims had exterminated the enemies of Christianity at Antioch and the Holy Sepulchre'.¹⁸ Just as Eugenius III did with his call for the Second Crusade, *Quantum praedecessores*, Odo prepared for the new crusade by studying accounts of the expedition of 1095–9.¹⁹ He was, therefore, reading about the very forefathers whom the pope so powerfully evoked in his crusade bull.²⁰ There is a strong likelihood that the *Gesta Francorum*

¹⁵ For the crusade windows see E. A. R. Brown and M. W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 1–40, although note the comments by J. P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), p. 107 and Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p. 158 n. 14 with regard to the dating of this project. For the ceremony at Saint-Denis before the crusade departed see Odo, *De profectione* pp. 14–19; G. Koziol, 'England, France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. T. N. Bisson (Philadelphia, Pa, 1995), pp. 127–9.

¹⁶ J. P. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christianity* (New Haven, forthcoming).

¹⁷ Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy', pp. 25–46.

¹⁸ William of Saint-Denis, 'Dialogus', p. 102.

¹⁹ Phillips, *Second Crusade*.

²⁰ *Quantum Praedecessores*, ed. P. Rassow, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 45 (1924), 300–5.

and the history of Raymond of Aguilers were amongst the collection at Saint-Denis.²¹ It is also known that a trio of crusading histories, those of Raymond, Fulcher of Chartres and Walter the Chancellor, were presented to King Louis early in his reign and these were probably easily available to the monks of Saint-Denis.²²

Suger's biographer reported that Odo actually took an account of the First Crusade with him on the expedition and in the course of Odo's letter to Suger there were moments when the influence of the First Crusade was clearly in his thoughts.²³ For example, when the French were at Constantinople he was able to comment that 'the Greeks usually pressed people to cross [the Bosphorus]', in apparent reference to events in 1096–7.²⁴ As he lamented the defeat of the Germans in Asia Minor, Odo looked ahead to the fall of the French army and commented that 'both nations will always have something to bewail if the sons of these men do not avenge their parents' death'.²⁵ The idea of vengeance was another theme of the First Crusade, although the notion of sons following in the footsteps of their parents was prominent in the preaching of the Second Crusade.²⁶ We can see the influence of the First Crusade in another episode described by Odo. As Bull has noted, the decision as to which route the French army should take was informed by the actions of their predecessors. As the French advanced towards Constantinople there was an attempt by the Greeks to divert them away from the city and to make them cross the Bosphorus at the Arm of Saint George, but 'the king did not wish to undertake something that he had never heard that the Franks had done'.²⁷ In a similar vein Louis wanted to march, rather than sail, along the southern Cilician coast on the basis that the First Crusade had taken just such an approach. The king argued: 'let us follow the route of our fathers, whose incomparable valour endowed them with renown on earth and glory in heaven'.²⁸ Presumably Odo's reading helped to influence such ideas, although the deeply entrenched legacy of the First Crusade, and the fact that in 1146–8 the expedition to the east was cast firmly in the footsteps of the earlier campaign, would have contributed significantly to this as well.

Four particular aspects of Odo's text bear closer scrutiny and an examination of these issues will form the remainder of this essay. The first is his perception of the Greeks; the second deals with matters of military history; the third concerns the nature of King Louis's authority over his army; and

²¹ F. de Mély, 'La croix des premiers croisés', *Revue de l'art chrétien* 33 (1890), 297–306.

²² 'Monitum Willelmi Grassegals militis', *RHC Oc.* 3: 317–18.

²³ William of Saint Denis, 'Dialogus', p. 103.

²⁴ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 79.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁶ Phillips, *Second Crusade*.

²⁷ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 59.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the last considers the relative size and standing of the French and German forces.

Odo is particularly well known for his heavy criticism of the Greeks and their alleged treachery towards the crusaders. The comments cited above by Constable, Runciman and Angold make it plain that this is a prominent facet of his work.²⁹ It is undeniable that Odo used very strong words about the Greeks and that he blamed them explicitly for the downfall of the French army in Asia Minor. In spite of this, however, Odo can also offer a more rounded assessment of his enemies. He praised the actions of particular individuals; men such as Michael Branas, duke of Sofia, who accompanied the crusaders on their journey through the European section of the Byzantine empire and did much to smooth their progress.³⁰ Odo warmly appreciated aspects of Byzantine culture and, at times, he offered a nuanced understanding of their political actions and religious practices. Aside from his experiences on the crusade, we can tentatively identify some of Odo's sources of information on the Greeks from material provided by the author himself and based on a general historical context. He indicated that expressions of anti-Byzantine sentiment had surfaced in France before the crusade set out. At the meeting held at Étampes in February 1147 to decide on the crusade's route to the Levant 'there were men in the assembly who said that the Greeks, as they had learned either by reading or by experience, were deceitful'.³¹ Along with a lament that the crusaders had turned down an offer of Sicilian naval support and had, therefore, become ensnared by the Byzantines, we can see once again the influence of the First Crusade writers noted above: the fiercely anti-Greek *Gesta Francorum* and its derivatives must have been in play here. Furthermore, in 1106–7 Prince Bohemond of Antioch had spent several months in France raising men for a crusade against the Greeks. The content of this preaching may have made some impact too; Suger himself had witnessed a council at Poitiers where the prince urged that a new crusade should be directed towards Byzantium and there is no reason why others still alive in 1146–7 might not have heard this appeal as well.³² Finally, and probably of greater influence by the time of the Second Crusade, there were the Byzantine attacks on Antioch in 1137–8 and 1142. Queen Eleanor of France was Prince Raymond of Antioch's niece and such links, together with the normal transmission of news to the West (the events of 1137–8 were reported in detail by the Anglo-Norman writer Orderic Vitalis, for example), and the presence of Antiochene envoys in

²⁹ See above, at notes 5–7. ³⁰ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 45.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13. ³² Suger, *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 45.

France in 1145–6 would have made such information widely known and further fomented hostility towards the Greeks.³³

Odo's report of the first meeting between the French army and Greek envoys at Regensburg in July 1147 contained the mixture of bigotry, blame and perception that characterized his comments on the Byzantines. Odo recognized that Emperor Manuel feared the coming of the crusaders and that he was prepared to withdraw food supplies if the required guarantees of good conduct were not provided. Manuel had already written to both Louis and Eugenius III expressing his concern at the advent of the crusading army and asking for promises of good behaviour. At this point, however, although Odo mocked the Greeks for their (as he saw it) excessive flattery and described the emperor's words as those of a buffoon, he recorded that a compromise was reached and the march continued.³⁴

When the French entered Byzantine lands Odo's attitude became complicated. For example, when he related the crusaders' problems in securing foodstuffs he criticized the Greeks for failing to give a fair exchange rate and adequate supplies. There is a sense that Odo's descriptions were sometimes clouded by his eventual conclusions, because alongside such vitriol, the observant historian in him recognized that the French indulged in acts of plunder and, more particularly, 'the Germans disturbed everything as they proceeded, and the Greeks fled before our peaceful king, who followed after'.³⁵ As we will see below, he followed a similar line of argument in acknowledging French and German indiscipline at other points in his narrative.

Odo's viewpoint towards the Greek Orthodox was even more clouded. The fact that the Byzantine church was in schism with Rome could not be avoided, but, on occasion Odo still managed to find good words for some Orthodox ecclesiastics. When Louis led the army through the Byzantine empire, 'the congregations of the churches and the entire clergy always received him with due reverence and honour, issuing forth from their cities with icons and other Greek paraphernalia'.³⁶ Most dramatically, on 9 October, on the Feast of St Dionysius, which was also celebrated by the Greeks, Manuel sent a group of his clergy to the French. Their elaborate vestments and the bearing of a large gold taper made a very positive impression on the Franks. Odo praised the Greeks' singing highly, but contrasted this apparent friendship with, as he saw it, the subsequent betrayal of the

³³ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80), vi: 502–8; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 68–72.

³⁴ Odo, *De profectione*, pp. 24–9. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45. ³⁶ *Ibid.*

emperor.³⁷ The monk would have been familiar with parts of this liturgy being performed in Greek because such a practice had been in place at Saint-Denis for decades before the Second Crusade. While Odo commented that the words and order of service 'differed from ours', the entire ceremony was obviously very well received.³⁸

Alongside these positive comments, however, there was a diatribe against some of the Greeks' other religious practices. Odo fulminated against the Orthodox clergy's insistence on purifying their altars after the Franks had used them, he decried the conversion of Catholics if they married an Orthodox, and he noted the differences in treatment of the Eucharist and problems concerning the *filioque* issue.³⁹ He claimed that 'it was for these reasons that the Greeks incurred the hatred of our men . . . because of this they were judged not to be Christians and the Franks considered killing them a matter of no importance'.⁴⁰ Yet earlier in the same passage Odo revealed that the Franks had just discovered the existence of a treaty between the Byzantines and the Seljuk Turks of Iconium and he complained bitterly of the killing of small groups of crusaders sent ahead by the bishop of Langres to try to secure supplies. Perhaps these practical matters were the triggers to bring the religious differences to the fore. The theological differences outlined by Odo had not seemed such a problem at the feast of St Dionysius. Furthermore, such fundamental issues had been evident to all prior to the crusade and were certainly known to leading churchmen in the west. If they were of such compelling importance then, as in 1107–8, both the Greeks and the Muslims would have been the target for the crusade from the start.

When the crusaders were camped outside Constantinople in October 1147 the bishop of Langres tried to persuade the army to besiege the city.⁴¹ The majority of the crusaders – above all King Louis – remained unconvinced. The practicality of such a move, particularly given the limited supplies available to the French and the formidable defences of the city itself, may also have formed part of the decision-making process. Nevertheless, had the king himself felt sufficiently hostile to the Orthodox then some form of attack may have been possible. In fact, it seems that Louis felt very differently, and in a contemporary letter of 1147 and correspondence from the early 1160s he mentioned the warm welcome given to him

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69. Louis VII mentioned these ceremonies in his letter back to Suger. Suger of Saint-Denis, 'Epistolae', *RHGF* 15: 488.

³⁸ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 69; M. Huglo, 'Les chants de la *missa Graeca* de Saint-Denis', in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. J. Westrup (Oxford, 1966), pp. 74–83; Mayr-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil', pp. 237–40.

³⁹ Odo, *De profectione*, pp. 55–7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

by the Greek emperor and recalled his stay in Constantinople in positive terms.⁴²

In reality, the viewpoint shared by Bishop Godfrey and Odo was out of line with the majority of those in the west, both before and after the crusade. We can see a stance diametrically opposite to Odo's advanced by Eugenius himself. In July 1147, just as the French were meeting the Greek envoys at Regensburg, the pope wrote to Bishop Henry of Moravia who, at that time, was about to set out for the Levant. His letter said 'we are entrusting to your care that the king [Conrad] should strive by all means possible to enlarge the honour and exaltation of the Holy Roman Church and to unite the church of Constantinople to her just as she formerly was'.⁴³ After the crusade Conrad made no attempt to blame the Greeks for his misfortune. Louis made reference to the treachery of the Greek emperor, but he also looked to his own faults to explain the outcome of the crusade. The clearest echo of Odo's perspective is from the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable. In a letter to King Roger II of Sicily he argued in favour of an attack on Byzantium because of 'the unheard-of and lamentable treachery of the Greeks'. He called for revenge because of 'the great amount of blood of the army of God which was spilled by so much wickedness'.⁴⁴ Some historians have suggested that this was a call for a crusade against the Greeks, but as the present writer, Constable and Reuter have argued, Peter's ideas found little broad support and to try to use him to demonstrate a wave of anti-Byzantine feeling in the west is not plausible.⁴⁵

It is important to consider whether Odo had any understanding of why the Greeks treated the crusaders as they did. On close analysis, the answer is an affirmative. On several occasions he acknowledged the indiscipline of the crusaders; first of all on the part of the Germans, and then on the part of the French themselves, and the monk recognized that this provoked a cool response from the Byzantines. In reference to events in October 1147

⁴² Suger of Saint-Denis, 'Epistolae', p. 496; Louis VII, 'Epistolae', *RHGF* 16: 82, although note that the former letter does mention that the emperor's treachery was partly to blame for the events in Asia Minor.

⁴³ Eugenius III, 'Epistolae', *PL* 180: 1252.

⁴⁴ Peter the Venerable, *The Letters*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols. (Harvard, Mass., 1967), 1: 395.

⁴⁵ Those who have argued that the 1150 crusade would be directed against Byzantium include Runciman, *Crusades*, II: 286; R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, trans. J. C. Morris and J. E. Ridings (Oxford, 1993), p. 162; A. Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273*, trans. H. Braun and R. Mortimer, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), p. 148. Those who reject this idea are Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 112-18; G. Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. S. C. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 67-75; T. Reuter, 'The "Non-Crusade" of 1149-50', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 150-63.

he commented that 'it was not held against the Greeks that they closed the city gates to the throng, since it had burned many of their houses and olive trees . . . by reason of arrogance and the drunkenness of fools'.⁴⁶ As we saw earlier, he also appreciated the emperor's fear of the Latin armies. In part he noted that this was engendered by their poor behaviour marching through his lands, and in part by their refusal to agree to Manuel's stipulations concerning former Byzantine territory. There is also a suggestion that the emperor was worried by the duration of the French presence outside Constantinople. He suspected that if the crusaders delayed there too long, they might join forces with the army of King Roger II of Sicily that had already (April 1147) invaded more westerly parts of the Byzantine empire in the Peloponnese.⁴⁷ The emperor even tried to buy French support to fight the Sicilians, but the crusaders rejected the proposal.⁴⁸ Notwithstanding his heavy criticisms of the Greeks, however, Odo did discern the essential reason why they followed certain courses of action. Even at the moment when he lapsed into stereotyping the Greeks as effeminate and treacherous, he commented: 'In general they have the opinion that anything which is done for the holy empire cannot be considered perjury'.⁴⁹ As Angold and Harris have argued, it was this principle that underlay imperial policy throughout this period.⁵⁰ Any action, no matter how duplicitous it may have seemed to outsiders, was entirely justified provided it was carried out in pursuit of this goal.

The two most relevant examples of this practice here concerned the twelve-year agreement the emperor made with the Seljuk Turks and the problems that the Greeks caused the crusaders in crossing Asia Minor. Signing the treaty with the Turks had substantial long-term advantages for Byzantium because the Seljuks were a constant pressure on the empire's eastern borders. Some degree of stability in that direction would free Manuel to deal with his troublesome northern neighbours in Bulgaria or to face the threat from Sicily.⁵¹ The weak level of support accorded to the French crusaders in Asia Minor and the strong suspicion that the Seljuks were tacitly encouraged to attack the westerners was based on the fear that the French would break the spirit of their (grudgingly made) agreement not to take any imperial lands and that they might encourage the principality of Antioch to break free from its recently imposed Greek overlordship.⁵² In light of these considerations, and on account of the basic principles

⁴⁶ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 67. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁰ Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 199; J. Harris, *The Crusaders and Byzantium* (London, forthcoming).

⁵¹ Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, p. 146.

⁵² Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 85–90; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 154–63.

of Byzantine policy, it was unsurprising that the Greeks behaved as they did. Other western writers did not make this observation although Odo's understanding of the idea was not developed further into any apparent plan of action. In short, his prejudice against the Greeks failed to prevent him from making positive comments about them and did not entirely blind him to the rationale behind their actions.

On the issue of military matters Odo has much to offer. He is frequently cited with reference to the turning over of the French army to the control of the Templars after the defeat at Mount Cadmus in January 1148.⁵³ This was indeed an important episode, but is by no means his sole observation of value to the military historian. For example, Odo included some interesting points concerning the lack of discipline in the French army. Plainly good order is essential to any successful fighting force and one reason cited for the victory of the First Crusade was the maintenance of proper rigour. William of Malmesbury wrote: 'Of the discipline and self-control of the whole army what can I say? There was no gormandizing and no lechery that was not once corrected by the captains' orders or the eloquence of the bishops; no man, while they were in Christian territory, lusted after loot; nor were there any quarrels among them that were not easily cut short by arbitration.'⁵⁴ While there is an element of exaggeration here (William was writing in the 1120s and was concerned to eulogize the leaders of the First Crusade), some sense of the good discipline imposed on the expedition is probably valid. The capture of Lisbon marked one of the more successful episodes of the Second Crusade and, as the author of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* showed, a unity of purpose was integral to the expedition's achievement.⁵⁵ Part of that unity was based upon the famous ordinances agreed upon at the start of the voyage:

Among these people of so many different tongues the firmest guarantees of peace and friendship were taken, and furthermore, they sanctioned very strict laws, as, for example, a life for a life and a tooth for a tooth... they constituted for every thousand of the forces two elected members who were to be called judges or *coniurati*, through whom the cases of the constables were to be settled in accordance with the proclamation and by whom the distribution of moneys was to be carried out.⁵⁶

⁵³ M. C. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 67; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 96.

⁵⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1979-98), 1: 655.

⁵⁵ J. P. Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (The Conquest of Lisbon)', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson, SCH 36 (2000), pp. 123-41.

⁵⁶ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. C. W. David, with a new introduction by J. P. Phillips (Columbia, New York, 2001), p. 57.

Intriguingly, Odo indicated that some sort of disciplinary measures were put in place by Louis at Metz in June 1147, although how closely they resembled those outlined above is unclear. Odo wrote that the king 'enacted laws necessary for securing peace and other requirements on the journey, which the leaders confirmed by solemn oath. But because they did not observe them well, I have not preserved them either.'⁵⁷ His rather world-weary aside revealed the damage wrought by poor discipline and a realization that it was a major contributor to the demise of the crusading army.

As we have noted already, there were serious problems as the Germans and the French moved through the Byzantine empire, and this continued on into Asia Minor. The most famous – and costly – example of this occurred when the French army lost formation so badly crossing Mount Cadmus that one part of the army became separated from view of the other. The consequence of this was defeat by the Turks. On this occasion it was the nobleman Geoffrey of Rançon whom all sources held responsible for the error.⁵⁸ There were other instances where good order was not preserved, and at these points it was Louis who could not impose his authority. Eugenius's instructions made plain that the king was the overall commander of the French crusaders. The pope had written to France in early 1146 and his letters 'enjoined obedience to the king' from the army.⁵⁹ Furthermore, when Louis took the oriflamme from the altar of Saint-Denis in June 1147 he enacted a ceremony that Odo argued 'was always the custom of our victorious kings', and in doing so he claimed authority over all the French crusaders.⁶⁰ The previous occasion this ceremony took place was in 1124 when King Louis VI had assembled an army from various regions across France to confront Emperor Henry V of Germany.⁶¹ In spite of Louis possessing this level of authority, Odo revealed that the king was, at times, somewhat weak. Louis's youth, his lack of military experience and his limited leadership abilities were cruelly exposed. Earlier in the crusade, as we saw above, Louis had enacted laws that Odo omitted to record because the nobles did not observe them.⁶² At Constantinople, discipline was again hard to maintain and the king was forced to spend his own money reimbursing the losses incurred by local money-changers after a riot at a market. With the exception of one Fleming who was put to death, Louis did not wish to find those responsible in his army; again perhaps, a rather passive option.⁶³

Soon after this incident, discussions took place concerning the form of homage that the French should swear to Manuel and the possibility of a

⁵⁷ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 123, 129; *WT* pp. 750–2.

⁵⁹ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17. See Bull's comments on Louis's status, 'Capetian Monarchy', pp. 45–6.

⁶¹ Suger, *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, pp. 127–32.

⁶² Odo, *De profectione*, p. 21.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

marriage between a relative of the king and a nephew of the emperor. In the course of these negotiations, Louis's brother, Robert of Dreux, 'secretly abducted his kinswoman from the queen's retinue, thereby preventing himself and certain barons from paying homage to the emperor and his relative from marrying the emperor's nephew'.⁶⁴ Plainly Robert was prepared to compromise Louis's diplomacy and this again indicated the king's lack of authority. In the course of the march across Asia Minor, just before the defeat at Mount Cadmus, a council of war was held at which it became apparent that the king (who was said to be consulting his senior men on account of his own lack of confidence) did not have a clear idea of what to do. Some 'were amazed at not finding the proper plan at that moment'.⁶⁵ For all Odo's emphasis on Louis's kingliness and piety, such episodes show that his chaplain was – however incidentally – prepared to show moments of royal weakness; and while his work has 'a hagiographical streak', it does not entirely obscure the king's shortcomings.⁶⁶ A lack of discipline evidently affected the German army too, so Louis was by no means unique in his inability to control his forces, but such failings certainly played a large part in the crusade's ultimate failure.

The French defeat at Mount Cadmus and the earlier rout of the German army en route to Iconium have left an impression of deep incompetence on the part of the second crusaders. But Odo's epistolary history, backed up by evidence from the Byzantine writer Niketas Choniates, demonstrates that in particular circumstances the French were capable of effective military action. In late December and early January 1148 the French moved away from Ephesus and marched along the Maeander valley. They were shadowed by a Turkish force that could harass the crusaders at will and then disappear into the mountains that ran along the valley. Nonetheless, the French advanced in textbook formation with the baggage, the injured and the weak in the centre of the army, and the king covering the vanguard, the rear and the sides with armed men. Odo admitted that the standard Turkish tactics of fast attacks and swift retreats meant the French made only slow progress and they still needed to cross the river to head southwards to Syria. The Turks then set a trap: some fell behind the crusaders and others waited where it was easy to descend to the river, but much harder to exit up the bank. After harassment by Turkish archers, a Frankish force led by Henry of Champagne, Count Thierry of Flanders and Count William of Maçon (presumably accompanied by their respective contingents of knights), charged the enemy. The Turks were taken aback by the

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁶⁶ Mayr-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil', p. 227.

speed of the Frankish onslaught and the crusaders 'scaled the steep bank, and penetrated the Turkish throng more swiftly than can be told. Also the king, by similar good fortune, by riding at top speed against the Turks who were shooting arrows from the rear, put them to flight, divided their forces, and pushed them back to the cavernous mountains.'⁶⁷ On this occasion, in spite of Turkish provocation, the French had managed to preserve their formation until the appropriate moment to attack. The Turkish policy of giving the Franks an easy entry to the ford was a mistake because it gave the Christian cavalry the opportunity to gather pace along good ground. This momentum was essential to the delivery of the famed Frankish charge and this allowed the crusaders to ascend the far bank and still hit the Turks with considerable destructive power. Likewise, Louis's 'riding at top speed' evidently had the same effect at the rear of the engagement and enabled him to scatter the enemy as well.

Niketas Choniates, the Byzantine chronicler who wrote in the early thirteenth century, reported a broadly similar outline of events although he included a lengthy peroration, allegedly by Louis, in which the king emphasized the crusaders' duty to fight for God, outlined the divine rewards for those that might perish and the need to inflict vengeance on those who had defiled the holy places. Louis's closing comments were to order battle: 'Massed in full battle array and couching our lances let us zealously rush in and charge on horseback through the river's current.'⁶⁸ Niketas then described Louis leading the charge as the crusaders enjoyed a crushing victory: 'The bodies of the Turks completely covered the plains, the ravines overflowed with their blood... To this day the mounds of bones are so many and so high that they stand like lofty hillocks bearing witness to the hosts who fell there.'⁶⁹ While Niketas differed in detail from Odo and, in fact, accorded Louis a far greater role than his chaplain, the essence of the story remained the same: strong Frankish discipline and a highly effective charge. Within days, of course, this triumph would be obscured by the events at Mount Cadmus. The Turks learned not to challenge the crusaders on flat ground and the Franks failed to keep the tight formation that had served them so well in the valley. As the remains of the army marched on to Adalia, belatedly, close order was observed and again proved to be successful.⁷⁰ Perhaps the French victory in the Maeander valley is little more than a footnote of military history; it is, however, evidence that the knights of the Second Crusade were not entirely powerless. It is a neglected

⁶⁷ Odo, *De profectione*, p. III.

⁶⁸ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H. J. Magoulías (Detroit, 1984) pp. 39-41.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41. ⁷⁰ Odo, *De profectione*, p. 125.

example of the famous Frankish charge; and it is another indication of the wealth of material contained in Odo's epistolary narrative.

This essay has already touched upon two areas where Odo's work has contributed to a questionable historical interpretation. To highlight such issues is no criticism of Odo's veracity or perspective, rather it is an indication of how he has come to dominate accounts of the Second Crusade and the manner in which historians have misused him. In one further case, the fact that his work is available in an accessible translation may have encouraged this tendency further in the anglophone world. Alongside a misreading of western views of the Greeks, another area in which Odo's evidence has caused confusion is in historians' assessment of the relationship between, and the relative importance of, the French and German armies. By reason that Odo came the nearest to a complete account of the expedition to the East, and because his German counterpart, Bishop Otto of Freising, famously refused to detail his experiences on the crusade, it is perhaps unsurprising that the French army is accorded greater prominence in secondary writings.⁷¹ The early demise of the German army in Asia Minor is probably another contributory factor to this situation. In reality, however, at the start of the crusade it was Conrad who led the larger army, and as far as Louis, the Greeks, the Muslims and the Frankish settlers in the east were concerned, it was the German who was the senior figure. While he may never have been crowned as emperor, Conrad was described as such by many writers, including Odo, and the German himself seems to have appropriated the honorific in charters that he issued in the course of the crusade.⁷² Even as emperor-in-waiting, he ranked above Louis in the hierarchy of secular rulers; in any case Conrad was also the older of the two men. The Byzantine sources accorded Conrad and his forces far greater attention than Louis. The twelfth-century writer John Kinnamos described Conrad as the man 'who possessed the principal position amongst the nations of the West'.⁷³ Niketas Choniates wrote of 'the campaign of the Germans, joined by other kindred nations'.⁷⁴ The contemporary Muslim writer Ibn al-Qalanisi reported the news of the crusaders' defeats in Asia

⁷¹ J. Richard, for example, in *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 159–67 gives far greater prominence to the French. He also begins his list of the attendees at the Council of Palmarca in June 1148 with Louis, rather than Conrad.

⁷² Odo, *De profectione*, pp. 51, 83, 89 are three examples amongst many. See also *WT*, pp. 741, 743, 760; R. Hiestand, 'Kaiser' Konrad III., der zweite Kreuzzug und ein verlorenes Diplom für den Berg Tabor', *DA* 49 (1979), pp. 542–55.

⁷³ John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, 1976), p. 59.

⁷⁴ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, p. 35. The remainder of his description of the crusade is heavily slanted towards events concerning the Germans: pp. 36–42.

Minor, but that 'Alman, who was their greatest king, remained with some others of lesser rank.'⁷⁵ William of Tyre, the most important historian of the Latin East, began his report of the Council of Palmarea in June 1148 by listing the attendees; he started thus: 'First and foremost among these was the famous Conrad.'⁷⁶ It is plain, therefore, that Conrad was the senior figure and that he led the larger army from the west. Even after the German king's defeat in Asia Minor, when Conrad came to Louis, the former reported that the French monarch and all his commanders 'faithfully and devotedly offered their services to us and furthermore, they put at our disposal their money and whatever else they had'.⁷⁷ In other words, Louis acknowledged that Conrad was his superior.

Odo is the most detailed source available for many aspects of the history of the Second Crusade. He was an observant and thoughtful writer who did much to fulfil his aim of writing a *res gestae* of Louis on crusade and providing a guide to future pilgrims. He should, however, be used with greater care than has been the case in recent years because his views are more complex than they appear at first sight, and because he has a genuinely wide range of information to offer.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932), p. 282.

⁷⁶ *WT*, p. 760.

⁷⁷ *Die Urkunden Konrads III, und seines Sohnes Heinrich*, ed. F. Hausmann, *MGH Diplomata*, 9: 355.

CHAPTER 6

Innocent III and Alexius III: a crusade plan that failed

James M. Powell

Lothar of Segni became pope under the name Innocent III during a time of crisis in the history of the crusades. As a young man, he had experienced, even if only in a minor role, the deep sense of loss that followed on the victorious campaigns of Saladin in 1187. He also knew the frustration that followed on the great promise of the Third Crusade. The death of Frederick Barbarossa, the early return of Philip Augustus, and the failure of Richard I to take Jerusalem were to stay with him during his entire pontificate. Some have gone so far as to suggest that his own plans for the crusade were shaped by this earlier experience to the degree that he did not look to the crowned heads of the west to lead the crusade.¹ But the political situation at the beginning of his pontificate hardly favoured such participation. The German king, Henry VI, had only recently died and was soon followed in death by his wife, Constance of Sicily. His son and heir, Frederick, was only four years old. Henry's brother Philip of Swabia claimed the German throne, but Constance had moved to safeguard the kingdom of Sicily for her son. Neither Richard of England nor Philip of France showed any intention of going on crusade for a second time. The divisions between them still burned deep in their souls. True, Innocent looked to lesser rulers, like King Emmicho of Hungary, to take part, but they did not command the same respect as the great kings of the west. Helmut Roscher went so far as to suggest that Innocent himself lacked a plan and was perhaps reluctant to summon a new crusade, but that view has found almost no support.² The present essay suggests a somewhat different view. While Innocent III was committed to a new crusade, he remained open to various possibilities.

¹ E. H. McNeal and R. L. Wolff, 'The Fourth Crusade', in *HC* 2: 153–85, esp. p. 154; and more recently, D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, Pa, 1997), p. 1.

² H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III und die Kreuzzüge*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 21 (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 51–2. On Innocent's commitment to the crusade, see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), p. 120.

He was, as Luchaire called him, a realist.³ Some might even call him an opportunist.

When the Byzantine emperor Alexius III sent an embassy to him shortly after his election to congratulate him and to invite him to send a legation to Constantinople, Innocent responded enthusiastically. Innocent's letter, summarized briefly by the author of the *Gesta Innocentii III* but available in his Register, is the best exposition we possess up to that time of the papal view of the linkage between the crusade and the reunion of the churches.⁴ That linkage went back to Urban II and was reaffirmed by numerous twelfth-century popes, including Eugenius III and Alexander III.⁵ In modern scholarship, however, the closeness of this bond has been largely missed or, at least, de-emphasized. Many historians have subordinated their treatment of the crusade to the reunion of the churches.⁶ In part, this is understandable, given Innocent's own concern and the fact that he also addressed a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, which he devoted almost completely to the subject of reunion, only seeking the influence of the patriarch with the emperor on behalf of the crusade. Charles Brand's discussion of these letters reflects this emphasis. He says merely that Innocent urged Alexius to 'show his good will by supporting the beleaguered crusader states'.⁷ Gerd Hagedorn provides a somewhat more detailed analysis.⁸ Like Brand, he points to a common interest of the papacy and the emperor in opposing the Hohenstaufen as a basis for papal-imperial cooperation, but, in my view, both overstress the importance of this issue at this

³ A. Luchaire, 'A Realist Ascends the Papal Throne', in *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?*, ed. J. M. Powell, 2nd edn (Washington, DC, 1994), pp. 19–33.

⁴ *Die Register Innocenz III*, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (Graz, Cologne and Vienna, 1964–), 1: 525–8 (no. 353; letter to Alexius III), 528–30 (no. 354; letter to the patriarch of Constantinople). For a detailed discussion of palaeographical and diplomatic issues, see O. Kresten, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen zu den in den Kanzlerregistern Papsts Innocenz III überlieferten Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 37 (1995), 41–79. This article examines Alexius's letters in the Registers of Innocent III. Also, see *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, ed. F. Dölger and P. Wirth, 2nd edn, volume 11: 1025–1204 (Munich, 1977).

⁵ For the versions of *Quantum praedecessores* issued by Eugenius III and Alexander III, see Eugenius III, 'Epistolae et privilegia', *PL* 180: 1064–6 and Alexander III, 'Epistolae et privilegia', *PL* 200: 384–6. See also my 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140–ca.1300', in *APC*, pp. 127–41, esp. pp. 135–6.

⁶ See C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 222–31. The 'Last Hope' seems to refer to reunion. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III*, pp. 93–6, esp. p. 94, goes so far as to argue that Innocent's emphasis on reunion was inimical to the crusade: 'Damit war der Versuch, Alexius III am Kreuzzug zu beteiligen, schon beendet.'

⁷ Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 225.

⁸ G. Hagedorn, 'Papst Innocenz III und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198–1203)', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974), 4–20, 105–136. Hagedorn also devotes most of his attention to the question of reunion.

time.⁹ We should note that Innocent did not suggest any such alliance in his letter.¹⁰ Had Alexius raised the issue at this time, he might well have alluded to it, even if only in a vague or general way. This is not to say that concerns about Philip of Swabia were not on Alexius's mind. Philip was married to Irene, the daughter of Alexius's brother, Isaac II, whom Alexius had overthrown and had blinded. But, for that reason, it does not seem likely that Innocent was prepared to join in any alliance that might further jeopardize his relations with Philip and the Hohenstaufen in the controversy over Philip's election to the German throne and his quest for imperial coronation until he had looked more deeply into its potential benefits. Certainly, anything Innocent said to Alexius would have been reported back to Philip. Innocent also avoided the question of Alexius's own path to power in this letter. Both of these omissions suggest that Innocent did not want anything to distract from his central message.

Since we know little about the mission that Alexius sent to Innocent, we must rely on Innocent's reply for information. Michael Angold characterizes Alexius's letter as a 'polite letter of congratulation' and the papal response as a 'fierce reply'.¹¹ Although the term 'fierce' may arouse some wonder, we must keep in mind that Innocent was forced to defend himself from a charge that he had been overly harsh in his criticism of the emperor, when he wrote to him again in November 1199.¹² On that occasion the pope maintained that he had not reproved the emperor but was advising him.¹³ Moreover, Innocent took this same tack in *Solitae benignitatis affectu*, a letter he sent in early 1200, which was entered into the *Gesta* and some decretal collections.¹⁴ In both cases, he seems to have tried to reassure the emperor about his intentions. Hagedorn, moreover, saw Innocent taking a different approach from that suggested by Angold. He believed that Innocent, recognizing

⁹ Hagedorn, 'Papst Innocenz III,' pp. 8–10; Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 225.

¹⁰ *Register* 1: 525–8 (no. 353). Some might wish to argue that Innocent's legates dealt with matters not in the letter. While this is true, there are no indications from the court of Philip of Swabia that Innocent was involved in such negotiations. See the argument set out by Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 224–5. From the evidence presented by Hagedorn, 'Papst Innocenz III', p. 10 n. 23, the possibility that the Greek empire might be translated to the west by the Apostolic See was taken up in a consistory in late 1200 or early 1201. That date seems to me to support the position taken here. Moreover, this proposition sounds more like a discussion point than a basis for a firm decision. Innocent was a cautious man. He always tried to leave himself a way out.

¹¹ M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204* (London, 1984), p. 287. Kresten, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen', shows that this letter was very carefully drafted and had important implications. Innocent's reply took up the issues raised by Alexius.

¹² *Register* 11: 394–7 (no. 202). ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

¹⁴ 'Gesta Innocentii III', ch. 63, *PL* 214: cxxiii. For the text, see Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12111, fols. 19v–20v; *Solitae* is not found in the Register of Innocent III, but is found in Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216: 1182–5.

the weakness of Alexius's position as a usurper, had in mind to make an alliance with him, even going so far as to recognize him as emperor in both east and west.¹⁵ Hagedorn also recognized that Innocent saw the crusade as providing a strong argument in favour of Christian unity.¹⁶ In my view, this position has considerable merit, but needs further clarification and some modification.

The crucial point was made by Innocent III in his first letter to Alexius. He told the emperor that Christians were complaining about his lack of support for the crusade. He clearly has in mind that Alexius deserted the policies of Manuel Comnenus, which had brought about close co-operation between Byzantium and the crusader states. Angold points to the strongly anti-western approach taken by Isaac Angelos and argues that Alexius was no friend of westerners. Innocent, therefore, seems to be trying to pressure Alexius into a return to the policy of Manuel Comnenus. He held out to him a vision of himself playing a crucial role in the crusade.

We ask, advise and exhort, and we enjoin on the remission of sins, that your Highness, having put aside other concerns, should stand up manfully and effectively in support of Jesus Christ and to free that Land . . . from the hands of the pagans and restore it to its former liberty, so that there the name of the Lord may be forever glorified, just as such a great a prince like you may reach out your hand and direct a large army, hoping in him who is the hope of all and who does not desert those hoping in him that this army will cause the multitude of the pagans to flee from your sight.¹⁷

The pope promised Alexius the same indulgence and privileges granted to other leaders of the crusade. He thereby affirmed what he had said about Alexius's role in the crusade. Where Hagedorn and others have stressed the idea of an alliance in opposition to the Hohenstaufen, I think that, in 1198, Innocent had in mind something different. He was depicting Alexius as the victorious leader of the crusade.

Innocent III committed himself to a process that might achieve the two great objectives of papal policy in the east. Alexius's response, however, was not entirely encouraging. It has led scholars to wonder about Innocent's own aims. Michael Angold says that 'Innocent's crusade plans were from the outset muddled up in his mind with what seemed to him to be Byzantine

¹⁵ Hagedorn, 'Papst Innocenz III', p. 12. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

¹⁷ *Register* 1: 527 (no. 353): 'celsitudinem tuam rogamus, monemus et exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, quatinus postpositis aliis sollicitudinibus viriliter ac potenter assurgas in adiutorium Jesu Christi et ad terram illam . . . liberandam de manibus paganorum et restituendam pristinae libertati, ut in ea nomen Domini glorificetur in secula, sicut tantus princeps manum extendas et exercitum dirigas copiosum, sperans in eo qui est spes omnium . . . quod paganorum multitudinem a facie tue exercitus effugabit'.

intransigence and bad faith.¹⁸ But, I believe that Charles Brand was closer to the right answer when he said, 'In February 1199 Alexius III answered, committing himself more deeply than the pope had had a right to expect.' Brand saw in Alexius's suggestion that a council should be summoned at which the 'Orthodox Church would attend', a positive sign.¹⁹ Keeping in mind that the putative alliance against the Hohenstaufen was very likely not yet realized, if indeed it had been discussed, Innocent could not but be committed to any course that promised both reunion of the churches and a greater chance of success for the crusade. He worked to keep that project on track. While he criticized Alexius for his position on the crusade, he praised him for his willingness to promote participation in the council by the Orthodox.²⁰ Thus, by the latter part of 1199, Innocent found himself deeply involved in negotiations with the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople.

At this point, Innocent was following a two-track policy. In the west, his legates were actively preaching the crusade and had already had considerable success among the great nobles of northern France. At the very same time as Innocent was replying to Alexius III, recruitment in the west took a major leap forward, when Count Thibaut of Champagne, Count Louis of Blois, and many others took the crusade vow at Ecry-sur-Aisne in late November 1199.²¹ Innocent also enacted his famous crusade tax on the clergy about this same time.²² But there is no evidence that Innocent kept either Alexius or the western crusaders informed about his efforts with the other party.²³ This absence of any information regarding the negotiations with Alexius III was at least partly responsible for the misunderstandings that developed later and is certainly one reason why the account in Villehardouin's chronicle differs from that in the *Gesta Innocentii III*, whose author was aware of both tracks.²⁴

It was about this same time, too, that Innocent III responded to a letter from Alexius demanding that Cyprus be handed over to the Byzantine empire.²⁵ The pope had been thrown onto the defensive by this tactic. He took Alexius's demand seriously and wrote to the kings of France and

¹⁸ Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 287.

¹⁹ Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 225–6.

²⁰ *Register*, II: 396–7 (no. 202). Letter of 16 November 1199.

²¹ Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 3.

²² Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 122.

²³ Only the author of the *Gesta* provides an account of both sets of negotiations, but for his approach see below.

²⁴ Queller and Madden, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 19. Villehardouin seems to have remained unaware of the negotiations with Alexius even after the crusade.

²⁵ Letter of mid-December 1199 to King Philip of France and King John of England seeking their help to persuade Alexius not to invade Cyprus: *Register*, II: 459–62 (no. 241).

England to secure their support against Alexius. Innocent was further diverted by a letter of Alexius that consisted largely of a pro-imperial interpretation of St Peter's statement (1 Peter, 2:13) 'For the sake of God, be subject to every human creature, as much as to the king, who is the pre-eminent authority, as to the dukes, for they are sent by God to punish evildoers and to praise the doers of good.' His response was the famous decretal, *Solitae benignitatis affectu*.²⁶ In this letter, Innocent III makes a strong point of urging Alexius to follow the example of the emperor Manuel. Clearly, he was willing to go the extra mile to keep negotiations with Alexius open. But it is interesting that the author of the *Gesta*, without further explanation, moves on to Innocent's negotiations with Kalojan, the ruler of Bulgaria, who was seeking recognition of his royal status and was willing to negotiate the union of the Bulgarian and the Roman churches.²⁷ This section stands in contrast to the thus far fruitless negotiations with Alexius III. This correspondence shows Innocent as reasonable and generous in his treatment of the Bulgarian ruler and the patriarch. Is it meant as a model for what could have occurred in the negotiations with Alexius? The anti-Byzantine tone of this correspondence is unmistakable.²⁸ Moreover, it culminates in a letter of the patriarch of the Bulgarians describing how he and the metropolitan bishops were consecrated by the cardinal legate, who also crowned Kalojan as emperor.²⁹ The author of the *Gesta* then returns to the subject of the crusade, first describing the arrival of Alexius, son of Isaac II, in the West and then transcribing Innocent III's letter of 16 November 1202 to Alexius III.³⁰ In this letter, the pope used the occasion of the young Alexius's visit to the papal court to lay out his charges against his uncle, Alexius III, for the first time. He also pointed to the role of Philip of Swabia as Alexius's brother-in-law and, with none too fine a hand, made clear that Philip could pose a serious threat to Alexius III but for papal support for Otto of Brunswick. This letter, with its almost threatening tone, stands in stark contrast to the preceding letter of the Bulgarian patriarch. I suggest that it marks a last-ditch effort on the part of Innocent to preserve the policy for which he strove during the previous four years. He was unwilling to give up on the possibility that he could achieve the great goals of reunion of the churches and a united front on the crusade with the support of the Byzantine empire. But, as the author of the *Gesta* demonstrates by the manner in which he moves directly to the organization of the crusade, that policy was doomed.

²⁶ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216: 1182-5.

²⁷ 'Gesta', chs. 65-82, *PL* 214: cxxv-cxxxi.

²⁸ 'Gesta', ch. 72, *PL* 214: cxxvi; *Register*, vii: 15-18 (no. 5).

²⁹ *Register*, vii: 411-12 (no. 231).

³⁰ *Register*, v: 239-43 (no. 121 [122]).

Innocent III had seized what must have seemed to him a grand opportunity. He had invested tremendous effort in trying to bring it to fruition, only to see it fail. In a sense, it was the failure of his first plan for the crusade, one that historians have not fully recognized and have paid too little attention to. Innocent's pursuit of this policy explains, in my view, the reasons why historians have had difficulty in understanding the part that he played in the crucial period while the crusade was at Zara. His policy was already in jeopardy. He had opposed the attack on Zara. He had opposed the young Alexius even before he allowed him to continue to visit his brother-in-law. From this point on, he seems ambivalent, opposing any move against Constantinople, but not willing to prevent the departure of the crusaders. Certainly, Innocent was never part of any plot against the Byzantine empire. On the contrary, he worked to defend its interests to the degree that they coincided with his own. If, in the aftermath of the capture of Constantinople, he briefly expressed his hope that his goals might be realized out of these events, he soon came to realize that such was not to be the case. He had to start again at the beginning on both the crusade and the reunion of the churches. Despite his later efforts to salvage what he could from the Fourth Crusade, he was bitter that the Venetians and the crusaders failed to heed his admonitions. We can only wonder how much of that bitterness reflected his frustration with the failure of his design for the Fourth Crusade.

CHAPTER 7

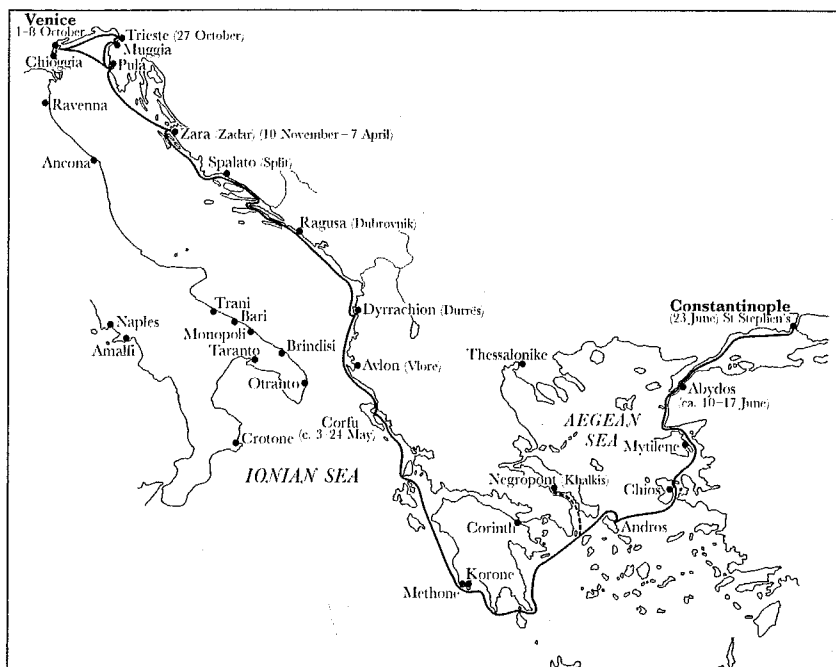
The Venetian fleet for the Fourth Crusade and the diversion of the crusade to Constantinople

John H. Pryor

In spite of the attention paid to the question of the 'diversion' of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople for more than a century, it is still not possible to persuade some that the whole scenario was not engineered from the beginning by the Venetians and Doge Enrico Dandolo. Yet little attention has been paid to the nature of the fleet that the Venetians assembled and what that may reveal about the purposes for which it was intended and the destination to which the French and Venetians may have intended originally to go.¹ Obviously, the composition of fleets varied according to the objectives which they were intended to achieve. On the one hand, no sensible political authority would use sailing ships, *naves* (Lat.), *nes* (O. Fr.), which could not be beached, if there were no port facilities at the intended destination or if it was an enemy coast, especially if transporting horses. Unloading horses into boats, or swimming them ashore, would have been difficult, and probably impossible, in the case of defended beaches. On the other hand, no one would use *uissiers*, galleys for transporting cavalry built with stern ports for embarking and disembarking horses, if the intended destination was an accessible port. *Uissiers* were expensive in manpower and inefficient in the numbers of horses they could carry by comparison to sailing ships. They were designed to land where there were no port facilities and to assault enemy beaches. Finally, no one would arm a large fleet of battle galleys unless effective resistance by enemy galleys was expected. War galleys were the thoroughbreds of the sea. They were expensive to build, maintain and equip; and to operate successfully they required highly skilled crews.

Another neglected theme has been the contribution of Venice to the crusading movement as a whole. Sometimes one wonders whether it is appreciated that there actually were some churches in Venice and that

¹ But see T. F. Madden, 'Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade', *International History Review* 17 (1995), 726-43, at 740; D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, Pa, 1997), p. 70.



Map 1. The voyage of the Fourth Crusade. © John H. Pryor

Venetians believed in the concept of crusade as much as any French noble, in spite of the fact that they were sailors and businessmen rather than knights or clerics. Yet Venice had a long and illustrious tradition of crusading.

Venice answered the call to crusade by Urban II just as did Genoa and Pisa. In autumn 1099, before news of the fall of Jerusalem reached the West in late November, her fleet sailed under the command of Giovanni Michiel, son of Doge Vitale Michiel I. It went to Zara and on to Rhodes, where it wintered.² It stayed there until 27 May 1100, eventually reaching Jaffa sometime before 24 June, when they made an agreement with Godfrey of Bouillon to serve until 15 August.³ Ten years later Venice sent another fleet

² It was too large to make the voyage in one passage. See J. H. Pryor, '“Water, water everywhere, Nor any drop to drink”: Water Supplies for the Fleets of the First Crusade', in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 21–8.

³ Monachus Littorensis, 'Historia de translatione sanctorum magni Nicolai, terra marique miraculis gloriosi, ejusdem avunculi, alterius Nicolai, Theodorique, martyris pretiosi, de civitate Mirea in monasterium S. Nicolai de Littore Venetiarum', *RHC Oc.* 5: pp. 254–72. No source specified the size of the fleet, although Albert of Aachen wrote that it was 'copiosus': Albert of Aachen, 'Historia

to the Holy Land, numbered at 100 ships by Andreas Dandolo. This fleet participated in the siege of either Sidon or Beirut, most probably Sidon, in November 1110, and Venice was granted a quarter in Acre by Baldwin I in appreciation.⁴

The *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123 between Doge Domenico Michiel and Patriarch Gormond of Piquigny, the purpose of which was to secure the services of the Venetians for an attack on Tyre, was made with a fleet which had left Venice on crusade, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has demonstrated.⁵ In the series of paintings of Venetian victories in the *Sala dello Scrutinio* of the Doges' Palace, the second and third are of the victory of the fleet over the Egyptians off Ascalon in May 1123 and of the storming of Tyre. These were remembered centuries later as great episodes in Venetian history.

After news of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin reached the west, in November 1188 Doge Orio Mastropiero recalled all Venetians abroad by Easter 1189 and prepared a fleet to participate in the crusade called by Urban III.⁶ The Venetians' response cannot be regarded as anything but genuine. They brought relief to Tyre and participated in the struggle for Acre until its fall in July 1191.⁷ Venetian ships and men also participated in the Fifth Crusade from 1217 to 1221.⁸

Why should Enrico Dandolo not have shared Venice's dedication to the cause of crusade? When he offered of his own volition and that of his Small Council, in return for a half of any conquests, a battle fleet of fifty galleys that the envoys had not sought, and when in old age he took the Cross

Hierosolymitana', *RHC Oc.* 4: 519. Andreas Dandolo later numbered it at 200 ships, an exaggeration. See Andreas Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, ed. E. Pastorello, RISNS 12/1 (Bologna, 1938), pp. 221-3. Nevertheless, it is clear from their participation in the capture of Haifa that it was large.

⁴ Dandolo wrote that the fleet assisted in the capture of Sidon: see *Chronica*, p. 228. The grant of a quarter in Acre preserved in the *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123 and a grant to Venice by Baldwin II in 1125 record that the first was granted at the siege of Sidon. See *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856-7; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 1: 79-89, esp. 86-7 (no. 40), 90-94, esp. 91 (no. 41): 'Preterea illam eiusdem plathee (seu) rugue Achon partem, quam primus rex Balduinus beato Marcho et domino Duci Ordelafo [Folier] suisque successoribus in acquisitione Sydonis dedit.' Fulcher of Chartres, followed by William of Tyre, reported that a Norwegian fleet assisted at Sidon: Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 543-8; *WT* p. 517. However, most probably Fulcher confused the capture of the two cities and the Norwegian fleet assisted at Beirut in May 1110.

⁵ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124', in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airal di and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 337-50.

⁶ Dandolo, *Chronica*, p. 270; *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 204-6 (no. 73).

⁷ Dandolo, *Chronica*, pp. 270-2; *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 212-15 (no. 76).

⁸ L. B. Robbert, 'Venice and the Crusades', *HC* 5: 379-451, here 441-2.

himself when he had no need to,⁹ why should one doubt his conviction? Dandolo could have entrusted the fleet to his son Rainieri and stayed home in Venice, rather than vice versa. There was no need for a blind old man to take the Cross.¹⁰

Surprisingly little is actually known about Dandolo's life.¹¹ According to Niketas Choniates, Dandolo 'madly thirsting after glory as no other . . . preferred death to allowing the Romans to escape the penalty for their insulting treatment of his nation'.¹² These clauses have been interpreted to suggest that Dandolo hated the Byzantines for some maltreatment of himself, when in fact they say nothing of the sort. What 'insulting treatment' of Venetians may have been intended is entirely obscure. In any case, as Madden has pointed out, how could Choniates possibly have known what was in the heart or mind of a doge whom he never met?¹³ In fact the passage is a piece of historical rhetoric in the context of Choniates' explanation of animosity between Pisans and Venetians prior to the Fourth Crusade resulting from the policies of Alexios III Angelos, which favoured the Pisans over the Venetians. Niketas' *Chronikē diēgēsis*, *Narrative Chronicle*, is a craftily constructed rhetorical artefact whose insights into *personae* must be read with care.

Dandolo knew the empire well. He participated in Doge Vitale Michiel II's expedition of 1171–2 against the empire in response to the incarceration of the Venetians in the empire on 12 March 1171.¹⁴ In a masterfully well coordinated coup, Manuel I seized, imprisoned and confiscated the property of every Venetian in the empire as punishment for having overstepped the bounds of *βουρgeois*, resident aliens, when they attacked and sacked the newly established Genoese quarter in Constantinople.¹⁵ Few escaped. Some prisoners were released between 1179 and 1183 but negotiations with

⁹ Amongst other sources, see Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. E. Faral, 2nd edn, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge 18–19, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961), I: 24, 66–8.

¹⁰ Madden has shown that the story that Manuel I Komnenos had had Dandolo blinded cannot have been true. See T. F. Madden, 'Venice and Constantinople in 1171 and 1172: Enrico Dandolo's Attitudes towards Byzantium', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8 (1993), 166–86, esp. 179–83.

¹¹ On Dandolo see Madden, 'Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade', pp. 729–33; and 'Venice and Constantinople in 1171 and 1172'.

¹² Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten, *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*, Series Berolinensis 11, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1975), I: 538: 'καὶ δοξουμένων ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος θανάτου ἐπιμάρτο τὸ μὴ τίσασθαι Ῥωμαίους τῆς ἐς τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ παροινίας'.

¹³ Madden, 'Venice and Constantinople', p. 169. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 175–6.

¹⁵ Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 171–2; John Kinnamos, *Ἱστοριῶν βιβλία 5*, ed. A. Meinecke (Bonn, 1836), pp. 280–3; C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 207; G. W. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium 1155–1204: Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City* (Urbana and Chicago, 1988), p. 27.

the empire dragged on and a state of war continued to exist until after Manuel's death.¹⁶ There is little evidence of Venetian commerce in the empire between 1171 and 1184, and Venetians suffered little in the massacre of the Latins in Constantinople in April 1182.¹⁷

Dandolo returned to Constantinople in 1183–4 to negotiate with the new regent, Andronikos Komnenos, who would eventually release the last of the captives of 1171 and agree to reparations.¹⁸ Isaac II finally came to terms with Venice in February 1187.¹⁹ From the perspective here, most important in the agreements reached were clauses specifying that Venice should provide naval assistance to the empire since they suggest that the empire's own forces were in decline. In the event of attack by forty to a hundred galleys, Venice was to supply a similar fleet, for which the empire would pay, within six months of being asked. The Venetian fleet would join that of the empire, would fall under imperial command, and up to three-quarters of Venetians between the ages of twenty and sixty living in *Romania* could be conscripted if the crews of the Venetian galleys were under strength.²⁰ Imperial chrysobulls in favour of the Venetians were reconfirmed and their privileges and quarters were restored. Venetians flocked back into the empire.

By June 1189 Isaac was forced by the threat to the empire posed by the crusade of Frederick Barbarossa to agree on reparations for 1171: 1,500 pounds of gold *hyperpyra* with an initial payment of 250 and the remaining 1,250 in six annual payments.²¹ Some payments were made but the burden was too heavy and they were in arrears by the time of Isaac's overthrow around 8 April 1195.

Dandolo was proclaimed doge on 1 June 1192 and continued negotiations over the payments. Isaac's successor, Alexios III, was hostile to Venice initially and favoured the Pisans and Genoese, re-admitted to the empire with renewed privileges by Isaac II in 1192.²² However, Alexios did eventually make some payments and embassies passed backwards and

¹⁶ See *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, 2 vols. (Turin, 1940), nos. 313, 316, 336, 338. The treaty between the empire and Venice dated to 1179 by Niketas Choniates was not concluded until the reign of Andronikos I: see Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 173–4.

¹⁷ *Documenti del commercio veneziano*, nos. 241–334. However, see no. 241 (a procuration dated May 1171 at Constantinople) and nos. 273–5 (three quitclaims between the same two parties dated March 1176 at Thebes).

¹⁸ Dandolo, *Chronica*, p. 266. Cf. 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', *MGHS* 14: 89–90, 92. For Dandolo in Constantinople in 1184, see *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto dei secoli X–XIII*, ed. A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice, 1953), nos. 33, 35.

¹⁹ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1178–203 (nos. 70–2).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I: 196–9 (no. 72). ²¹ *Ibid.*, I: 206–11, esp. p. 210 (no. 74).

²² *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova dal MCLXIII al MCLXXX*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 77, 79, 89, 3 vols. (Rome, 1936–42), III: 50–78 (nos. 20–2, 24);

forwards between Venice and Constantinople until Pietro Michiel and Ottavio Querini finally hammered out an agreement with the Logothete of the Drome, Demētrios Tornikios. Theodore Aulikalamos, an imperial protonotary, brought a renewed chrysobull to Venice in November 1198.²³ Nevertheless, according to Niketas Choniates, 200 pounds were still owing around 1201–2, and the debt had not been completely paid off by the time of the crusade.²⁴

Venetian commerce with the empire recommenced from 1184. In the published surviving records, thirty-nine documents refer to Venetians in Constantinople, voyages from Venice to the empire and vice versa, and Venetian voyages from other places to the empire and vice versa, between 1184 and 1201.²⁵ As well as the diplomatic exchanges, every voyage made, and every Venetian resident in the empire, must have communicated to home intelligence about the condition of the defences of the empire. No one could sensibly suggest that in 1201 Dandolo could possibly have been uninformed about these, especially the condition of the navy.

By the 1160s the Komnenoi emperors had rebuilt the Byzantine navy into a formidable force. In 1169 Manuel sent a fleet to the Holy Land to participate in an assault on Egypt with forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The fleet was composed of 'vessels, horse transports, and very numerous warships' and according to Niketas Choniates consisted of 200 ships of which sixty were cavalry transports. William of Tyre confirmed that there were sixty horse transports, as well as ten to twelve large transports which he called *dromones*, and 150 galleys.²⁶ The expedition was a disaster, but the Byzantine fleet was so powerful that the Egyptians did not attempt to engage it.

When Doge Vitale Michiel II took the Venetian fleet into the Aegean in 1171–2, the Byzantine navy was still to be reckoned with. There was no repetition of 1125, when Domenico Michiel entered the Aegean while returning from the Holy Land, ravaged islands and coasts with impunity, and forced John II to renew Venice's privileges. It may be true that Vitale Michiel was no warmonger and considered that Venice's interests could be better achieved by diplomacy than belligerence. It is also true that the

Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, ed. E. von Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90), III: 3–37 (nos. 3–5).

²³ Dandolo, *Chronica*, p. 274–5; *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, I: 246–80 (no. 85).

²⁴ Choniates, *Historia*, p. 538; 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 92.

²⁵ Venetian references to the empire reappear suddenly in numbers from 1184. See *Documenti del commercio veneziano*, nos. 344–456; *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto*, nos. 33–47. These surviving documents are merely a minute fraction of what once existed. No notarial cartularies survive from Venice for this period.

²⁶ Kinnamos, *Ἱστοριῶν βιβλία* 5, p. 278; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 160; *WT* p. 927.

Venetian fleet was eventually reduced to impotence by disease.²⁷ Nevertheless, the doge's ability to achieve his objectives was negated from the beginning by the strength of the Byzantine navy. In Constantinople Manuel simply ignored Michiel's embassies because he could do so with impunity. The Venetians made no attempt to force the Dardanelles.

According to Kinnamos, before Manuel left in 1176 to attack the Seljuk sultan Qilich Arslan, an expedition which ended disastrously at Myriokephalon, he sent 150 ships against Egypt. William of Tyre confirmed the report, recording that in 1177 a Byzantine embassy reached Jerusalem with a proposal for an attack on Egypt. Seventy imperial galleys plus other ships lay moored in Acre.²⁸ Magdalino has argued persuasively that the land attack via Myriokephalon and the naval attack on Egypt were a two-pronged Byzantine 'crusade'.²⁹ As late as 1176-7, the navy could still project the empire's power outside the Aegean. An anonymous rhetor declaimed that at Manuel's death piracy had been suppressed and maritime routes opened to navigation and commerce.³⁰

Medieval technology for protecting hulls from rot and ship-worm was not particularly effective and neglect would lead quickly to the decay of fleets. War galleys also depended on skilled seamen, but these could not be produced overnight. Invariably, they came from communities with long traditions of fishing and maritime commerce, and loss of crews from these would quickly lead to human decay of fleets. Ships were also powered by the wind and/or human strength. What crews hardened by years at the oars could achieve by comparison to raw recruits was immeasurable. A few years' neglect could undo decades of patient building and this appears to have happened in the empire, perhaps in the last years of Manuel I but certainly shortly thereafter. To face the revolt of Andronikos Komnenos in 1182, the *prōtosebastos* Alexios Komnenos had to turn to Latin mercenaries. Niketas Choniates wrote that the quality of ships crewed by them was superior to that of those crewed by Byzantines. The latter, under the *Megas Doux* Andronikos Kontostephanos, went over to Andronikos.³¹

In 1185, a fleet of 200 ships, augmented by those of a 'pirate', Siphantos, pillaged coastal areas while the Norman army advanced overland. Thessalonike was captured and sacked on 6 August 1185.³² According to Niketas

²⁷ Cf. Madden, 'Venice and Constantinople', pp. 171-6.

²⁸ Kinnamos, Ἱστοριῶν βιβλία 5, p. 300; WT p. 985.

²⁹ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 95-8.

³⁰ *Fontes rerum Byzantinorum, fasciculi 1 et 2: Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae*, ed. V. E. Regel and N. I. Novosadskij, 2 parts (St Petersburg, 1892-1917; repr. Leipzig, 1982), 1: 195 (no. 12).

³¹ Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 246-50.

³² Eustathios of Thessalonike, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, trans. J. R. Melville-Jones, Byzantina Australiensia 8 (Canberra, 1988), pp. 100, 106, 108.

Choniates, Andronikos prepared 100 galleys to aid cities threatened by the Sicilian fleet and to block the Golden Horn. These were probably the last remaining units of Manuel's fleet which had deserted to Andronikos in 1182.³³ After the defeat of the Normans by land, their fleet was successfully attacked by the Byzantines in November 1185 in the Gulf of Astakos. However, the latter were too few to press home the attack. The Sicilians had to be allowed to withdraw through the Dardanelles.³⁴

Choniates reported that the fleet sailed for home, though not that it actually reached Sicily.³⁵ In fact it could not have. It limped to Cyprus and wintered there, where its commanders reached agreement with Isaac Komnenos, a younger brother of Manuel I, who around 1183/4 forged imperial letters appointing himself as governor of Cyprus and, once established, proclaimed himself βασιλεὺς.³⁶ During the campaign in 1185 the Norman fleet had been commanded by Count Tancred of Lecce. However, sometime during the winter command passed to Margaritus of Brindisi, a man whose day was dawning. Next year Isaac Angelos sent seventy galleys to recover Cyprus but Isaac Komnenos defeated those troops who landed and the fleet was surprised and defeated by Margaritus.³⁷

After the defeat of the expedition, an alliance was concluded between Sicily and the empire sometime between 1186 and 1189 in which a clause was inserted requiring the Sicilians to furnish a fleet to the empire if requested.³⁸ Together with the similar clauses in Isaac II's treaty with Venice, this confirms that the decline of the Byzantine navy was now felt severely.

The decline was reflected in the impunity with which Western fleets and corsairs began to operate in the Aegean and Sea of Marmara. Following the massacre of the Genoese and Pisans in Constantinople in 1182, their corsairs began to infest the Aegean, growing in numbers and menace as the years passed and the ability of decaying Byzantine squadrons to resist them collapsed.

Niketas Choniates must be read with scepticism because he was searching for an explanation of why only twenty ships, decaying, worm-eaten, and unseaworthy, could be found in the Golden Horn in 1203 to oppose the Venetians. That being said, he attributed one of the reasons for it to the

³³ H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VI^e-XV^e siècles*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 5 (Paris, 1966), p. 286.

³⁴ Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 320, 362-3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 363. ³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-2. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 369-70.

³⁸ 'Annales Ceccanenses', *MGHS* 19: 287; Robert of Auxerre, 'Chronicon', *MGHS* 26: 253. See the oration of the *prōtonotarios* Sergios Kolybas to Isaac II Angelos in *Fontes rerum Byzantinorum*, 1: 289-90 (no. 16). Cf. also George Tornikios, 'Oratio ad Isaacium Angelum imperatorem', in *Fontes rerum Byzantinorum*, 1: 277-8 (no. 15).

nefarious activities of the Byzantine *Megas Doux* Michael Stryphnos during the 1190s. Stryphnos was a 'paper' admiral who owed his appointment to being the brother-in-law of the empress. According to Choniates, he appropriated and greedily gulped down funds.³⁹ Three manuscripts of the second and third recensions of the chronicle add that he sold off spikes and anchors, ropes and sails, emptying the arsenals of war galleys.⁴⁰

Around 1192, a polyglot Genoese-Pisan 'pirate' squadron under Guglielmo Grasso raided the southern Aegean. They pillaged Rhodes, captured a Venetian ship carrying a Byzantine embassy returning from the court of Saladin, together with Saladin's own ambassadors, and then captured an Apulian ship en route from Constantinople to Cyprus with the bishop of Paphos and other dignitaries aboard.⁴¹

In 1196 war broke out between Pisa and Venice in the waters of Romania and in March a Venetian fleet penetrated the Dardanelles as far as Abydos.⁴² Although ordered home by Enrico Dandolo, its commanders stayed put and its presence probably persuaded Alexios III to come to terms with Venice in 1198. At Abydos it threatened Constantinople's lifelines.

Between 1197 and 1199 a Genoese merchant 'pirate' referred to as *Kaphoures* by Niketas Choniates, probably the admiral Gafforio who had been in the Levant in 1195, attacked the Aegean coasts and islands, especially Atramyttion. He was counter-attacked by thirty ships commanded by John *Steiriones* of Calabria, himself a 'pirate' who had entered Byzantine service under Isaac II. *Kaphoures* found *Steiriones*'s ships riding at anchor undefended off Sestos and captured them. However, Alexios III Angelos entered into negotiations with him and while these were going on he armed new ships, some with Pisan crews since Pisa was at war with Genoa, and *Steiriones* surprised *Kaphoures* and defeated and killed him. Only four ships escaped.⁴³

The operations of these western corsairs and fleets in the Aegean and Sea of Marmara in the 1190s indicate clearly the degree to which the navy

³⁹ Choniates, *Historia*, p. 491.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 541 ad l. 41: '[post ναυπηγήσιμα add. PLO Bekk] και μήν και ὁ τοῦ στόλου δούξ Μιχαήλ ὁ Στρυφνός, κασιγνήτῃ [κασιγνήτω PLO: τῆς δεσποίνης συνευγευμένος (συνευναζόμενος Ο)], δεινότετος ὢν μὴ μόνον γόμφους και ἀγκύρας νηῶν [νηῶν om. Bekk] χρυσίου ἀλλάξασθαι, ἀλλὰ και λαίφρεσι ἐπιθέσθαι και ἐξαργυρίσαι πρότονα [πρότονα Ο Bekk: πρότονας PL] ἀπαξάπαντος πλοίου μακροῦ τὰ νεώρια Ρωμαίων ἐκένωσε'.

⁴¹ *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, 3: 78–81 (no. 25); *Acta et diplomata graeca*, 3: 37–40 (no. 6). Cf. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*, *passim*.

⁴² *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 216–25 (no. 78).

⁴³ Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 481–3; Michael Choniates, *Τὰ σωζόμενα: τὰ πλείστα ἐκδιδόμενα νῦν τὸ πρῶτον κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ, Ὁξωνίᾳ, Παρίσι τοῖς και Βιέννῃ κώδικας*, ed. S. P. Lampros, 2 vols. (Athens, 1879–80), II: 105–7; *Acta et diplomata graeca*, 3: 46–7 (no. 8); *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, III: 112–15 (no. 40).

laboriously built up by the Komnenoi emperors was allowed to go to rack and ruin in a few short years. That this was not well known in Venice in 1201 is impossible to believe.

The evidence for Venetian commerce with Egypt during the twelfth century is hardly extensive,⁴⁴ and it also clusters in periods when commerce with the empire was either prohibited or dangerous.⁴⁵ A commercial treaty may possibly have been concluded between Venice and Egypt in 1175;⁴⁶ however, no text survives. After Orio Mastropiero recalled Venetians to Venice for the crusade in November 1188, there are no surviving records of Venetian voyages to Egypt until 1198 and there are only two between then and the Fourth Crusade.⁴⁷

From an economic viewpoint, against which target would the ruling elite of Venice in 1201 have wished to direct the crusade? Against which would it have been willing to commit all the resources of the city in the lagoons in order to gain a half of any conquests? Against the empire, to which Venice had all the access it needed, except perhaps to the Black Sea, in which it had extensive tax concessions, and which had a weak government easily pressured? Or, would it rather have been against Egypt, to which Venice had limited access, where all Europeans were heavily taxed, which controlled the highly lucrative spice trade from south and south-east Asia, and on whose government Venice could exert no influence? If it was considered possible to conquer it, Egypt would have been the obvious choice!

Moreover, Egypt was the key to Jerusalem. Once Shīrkūh had conquered Egypt, and especially after Saladin had made himself sultan in both Damascus and Cairo, the Franks in the Holy Land quickly realized that. William of Tyre wrote:

the wiser men of the kingdom seeing that in Egypt being subjugated to the Turks we had been very greatly failed and that our condition had been made much worse – for our most powerful enemy Nūr-ad-Dīn both was able by sea, setting out from Egypt with his large fleet, to hedge in our realm effectively and surround any of the coastal cities with two forces and, which was more to be feared, to impede to pilgrims the passage to us or to deny [it] completely.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Documenti del commercio veneziano*, nos. 11, 65, 74, 148, 149, 179, 183, 187, 191, 193–8, 201, 203, 207, 247, 248, 257–62, 265, 293, 294, 296, 299, 301, 302, 306, 312, 318, 321, 323, 331, 335, 340, 345, 347, 351, 368, 439, 447; *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto*, no. 23; *Famiglia Zusto*, ed. L. Lanfranchi (Venice, 1955), nos. 16, 19, 27.

⁴⁵ Robbert, 'Venice and the Crusades', pp. 395–6. ⁴⁶ 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 81.

⁴⁷ *Documenti del commercio veneziano*, nos. 368–439, 447. ⁴⁸ WT p. 926.

William became keenly aware of the threat to the strategic security of the crusader states that the loss of Egypt to Shīrkūh and Saladin had created:

[Under the Fāṭimids] the riches of Egypt, the immensity of [its] resources served our needs; on that side our realm had safe frontiers; there was no one whom we might fear from the south. To those wishing to come to us the sea offered very peaceful passages . . . [but now] the sea denies peaceful approaches, the entire region round about is subject to the enemy, and the neighbouring realms prepare for our destruction.⁴⁹

The failure of the Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem because of the enormous human and financial resources that Saladin was able to throw against it had surely taught everyone that Jerusalem could never be recovered unless Cairo was taken first. Did not the planning for the Fourth Crusade anticipate the Fifth Crusade?

After the event, rumours of a secret Venetian treaty to divert the crusade away from Egypt found their way into the continuation of the chronicle of Ernoul attributed to Bernard the Treasurer as a request from the sultan al-ʿAdil I Sayf-ad-Dīn to Venice to do so.⁵⁰ The *Chronicles of Flanders* reported that when news of the crusade reached the sultan, he wrote to Venice promising 1,000 marks of gold and free-conduct through Arabia, Syria, Damascus and Egypt if they refused the crusaders transportation.⁵¹ The story was repeated in other chronicles.⁵² In 1867 Hopf supposedly identified this treaty, even dating it to 13 May 1202; however, his identification was shown to be indefensible by Gabriel Hanotaux in 1877.⁵³ Given the outcome of the crusade, it is hardly surprising that rumours to this effect sprang up in

⁴⁹ WT p. 924.

⁵⁰ *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 343–5: 'Quant il [al-ʿAdil I Sayf-ad-Dīn] oï dire que li Crestiien avoient leuë estoire pour venir en le tiere d'Egypte . . . Adont s'en ala li soudans de Babilone en Egypte pour prendre conseil comment il poroit le tiere garnir encontre les Crestiien qui en le tiere devoient venir . . . Puis si fist apparellier messages, si lor carja grant avoir, puis les envoia en Venisse; et si envoia au duc de Venisse et as Venissiens grans presens, et si lor manda salus et amistés. Et si lor manda que se il pooient tant faire qu'il destournaissent les Crestiien, qu'il n'alaissent en le tiere d'Egypte, il lor donroit grant frankise el port d'Alixandre et grant avoir. Li message alerent en Venise et fissent bien ce [qu'il durent et ce] qu'il quisent, et puis si s'en retournerent.' The story was paraphrased in the continuations of William of Tyre. See 'L'estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer', *RHC Oc.* 2: 251–2.

⁵¹ 'Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae', in *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 296.

⁵² *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 324, 332.

⁵³ C. Hopf, 'Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit: Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit', in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, Section I, vol. 85 (1867), p. 122; G. Hanotaux, 'Les Vénitiens ont ils trahi la chrétienté en 1202?', *Revue historique* 4 (1877), 74–102.

disappointed circles and were passed on.⁵⁴ But there is no reason whatsoever to accord any credence to them.

According to Villehardouin, the envoys and Venetians agreed that the target would be Egypt, specifically Babylon, that is Cairo, 'because they could better destroy the Turks by way of Babylon than by that of any other land; however, in the hearing [of others] it was said that they would go to the Holy Land (*Outre Mer*)'.⁵⁵ Robert of Clari reported that the Venetians would take them wherever they wished, whether to *Babyloine* or to Alexandria, and according to Gunther of Pairis the crusaders' destination was Alexandria because a truce was in place in Outremer, which was indeed the case.⁵⁶

According to the contract as preserved in the Venetian *Liber Albus* and *Liber Pactorum*, the agreement concluded in April 1201 called for transporting 4,500 knights and as many horses, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 foot soldiers, with provisions for up to a year. As well, the Venetians would supply fifty *galeae* at their own expense. The horses and squires should be carried on *usserii* and the men on *naves*. The transports should be available for a year from departure on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul the next year (29 June 1202).⁵⁷ Villehardouin fundamentally agreed. The contract was for *uissiers* for 4,500 horses and 9,000 squires, *nes* for 4,500 knights and 20,000 foot sergeants, and provisions for nine months. He added that the doge offered of his own volition to supply fifty galleys (*galees*), crewed and armed for the same length of service.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 51, 235 n. 84, 319.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête*, I: 30: 'si fu la chose tete que on iroit en Babilloine (porce que par Babilloine poroient miels les Turs destruire que par altre terre); et en oïance fu devisé que en iroit outre mer'.

⁵⁶ Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer, Les classiques français du moyen âge 40 (Paris, 1924), p. 7; Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople: The 'Hystoria Constantinopolitana' of Gunther of Pairis*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Philadelphia, Pa, 1997), p. 77. Cf. *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 353; Al-Maqrizî, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), p. 124.

⁵⁷ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, I: 365–6 (no. 92): 'Petierunt itaque supradicti uiri, ut uobis nauigium daremus ad traffretandos quatuor millia quingentos millites bene armatos, et totidem equos, et nouem milia scutiferos (de quibus scutiferis, si defecerint, argentum inferius dictum nobis tamen minui non debet), et uiginti milia pedites bene armatos, cum uictualibus ad annum unum, quod eis dare promissimus . . . Ad traffretandos predictos equos tot usserios dare debemus, quot fuerint necessarij conuenienter. Naues autem ad traffretandos homines tot dabimus, quot erunt sufficientes secundum discretionem nostram et baronum nostrorum, bona fide. Et hoc nauigium supradictum dari debet a festo sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli proximo uenturo ad honorem Dei et beati Marci euangeliste et Christianitatis usque ad annum unum, si opportuerit, nisi nostra et uestra remanserit uoluntate comuni. Super his autem et nos propria uoluntate nostra quinquaginta galeas dare debemus armatas in dei seruitium, que similiter erunt in seruitium domini per annum, si opportuerit, nisi nostra et uestra communi uoluntate remanserit.'

⁵⁸ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête*, I: 22–4: 'Nos ferons uissiers a passer .iiv.m et v.c. cheuaus et ix. mille escuiers, et es nés .iiv.m cheualiers et v.c., et xx. mille serjanz a pié; et a toz ces cheuaus et

Robert of Clari reported the request as being for 4,000 knights and their equipment and (inexplicably) for 100,000 foot soldiers and that Dandolo offered to go himself with half the arms-bearing men of Venice and fifty galleys at Venice's expense. He added that Dandolo then suspended Venetian commerce so that everyone could help prepare the fleet.⁵⁹ Niketas Choniates wrote that 110 horse-carrying δρόμωνες and sixty νῆες δε μακράι, long ships, galleys, were built in Venice and that more than seventy large στρογγύλοι (round ships) were assembled.⁶⁰ Other sources have different figures.⁶¹ However, some were inaccurate and others recorded the composition of the fleet which actually sailed, which was smaller than that assembled.

More important than the fleet's size was its composition. Robert of Clari wrote that it was composed of 'rikes nes, grans dromons et les uissiers a mener les chevax', and 'galies'.⁶² Later he wrote that each of the 'high men' had his own *nef* for himself and his people, and his transport (*uissier*) to carry his horses, and the doge had with him fifty galleys all at his own cost'.⁶³ Villehardouin also wrote that the *nes* and *uissiers* were distributed among the barons and the continuation of Ernoul attributed to Bernard the Treasurer also reported that all 'high men' (*haus homes*) had their own *nef*.⁶⁴

ces genz iert telx la covenance que il porteront viande a ix. mois . . . Et tant feromes nos plus, que nos metromes l. galees armees por l'amor de Dieu . . . Cf., 1: 58, 70, 76.

⁵⁹ Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 6–7: 'Si kemanda on as messages que il liuassent waissiaus a passer .iiij. m. chevaliers et leur harnas et .c.m. hommes a pié.' Cf., pp. 8, 9–10.

⁶⁰ Choniates, *Historia*, p. 539, 93–4: '... δρομώνων μὲν ἱππαγωγῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα, νηῶν δὲ μακρῶν ἑξήκοντα, ἔτι δὲ πλοίων συναθροισθέντων στρογγύλων μεγίστων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἐν Κόσμος παρ' αὐτοῖς ὠνομάζετο ὡς πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερφέρον ἐς μέγεθος . . .'

⁶¹ Forty *naves*, sixty-two *galiae*, and 100 *oxirii*: 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873, repr. Brussels, 1966), p. 87. Hugh of St Pol wrote that at Constantinople 200 *naves usarias et galeidas*, not counting the *navicule* and *barge*, were prepared for the first assault. Hugh of St Pol, *Epistola* to Henry of Louvain in *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 306. One manuscript of the continuations of the *Chronicon Venetum* numbered the fleet at 400 *galeae*, *naves*, and *uxerii*: 'Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicunt Altinate', *MGHS* 14: 68. The 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 92 stated that the envoys asked for 300 ships, between *asirii*, *galeae*, and *naves* but that the doge promised 100 *asirii* and 100 *naves* for 5,000 knights and 8,000 foot, as well as fifty *galeae*, but concluded with the fleet eventually sailing with 300 ships. Andreas Dandolo recorded that the contract was for the transportation of 4,500 knights and 8,000 foot soldiers with provisions for a year, that Venice would provide fifty galleys, and that the fleet numbered 300 *navigia*: *Chronica*, p. 276. Thomas the Archdeacon numbered the fleet at fifty galleys, as many *magne naves*, and as many other (ships) for horses and victuals and arms: Thomas the Archdeacon (Thomas of Spalato), 'Historia pontificum Salonitanorum et Spalatinorum', *MGHS* 29: 576.

⁶² Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, p. 9. Here he used the word *dromons*, borrowed from the Greek, appositionally to *uissiers* to refer to the horse transports, as he made clear at p. 42.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 12: 'Et cascuns des haus homes avoit se nef a lui et a se gent et sen uissier a ses chevax mener, et li dux de Venice avoit avec lui chinquante galies tout a sen coust'.

⁶⁴ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1: 76; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 348.

The Venetian battle fleet was headed by the doge's vermillion-painted galley.⁶⁵ A standard ship's complement of oarsmen, an οὐσία, of Byzantine war galleys in the tenth century had been 108 men and 108 was still the standard figure for the number of oars used on galleys of the Kingdom of Sicily under Charles I of Anjou in the 1270s and 80s.⁶⁶ The figure was the standard for bireme galleys from the tenth century to the end of the thirteenth century. But as well as the oarsmen, Angevin galleys also carried forty-four officers, marines, and ship's boys. Their total crews were 152. That figure would also have been approximately true for the Venetian galleys. Some 7,600 men would have sailed in the battle fleet.

The sailing ships were assigned to the nobility. Some are known: the *Paradisus* assigned to the bishop of Soissons and the *Peregrina* to the bishop of Troyes; the *Viola* to Stephen of Perche; and the *Aquila*, later remembered in Venice incorrectly as having broken the chain of the Golden Horn. Niketas Choniates also reported a ship larger than all the rest known as the Κόσμος, *World*.⁶⁷ However, there can have been only a few such very large sailing ships since at Constantinople only four or five had masts high enough to reach the towers on the sea walls.⁶⁸ There would have been many other smaller ones but since they varied in size how many were assembled must remain unknown. By mid-century large crusader transports could carry 600, or perhaps even more, passengers.⁶⁹ For 4,500 knights and 20,000 foot soldiers, perhaps around forty 'first-rate' ships would have

⁶⁵ Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, p. 12: 'Le galie ou ens il estoit ert toute vermeille, et si avoit un pavellon tendu par deseure lui d'un vermeil samit.'

⁶⁶ See J. H. Pryor, 'From Dromōn to Galea: Mediterranean Bireme Galleys AD 500–1300', in *The Age of the Galley: Mediterranean Oared Vessels Since Pre-Classical Times*, ed. J. Morrison (London, 1995), pp. 101–16, esp. pp. 106, 110. At p. 106, the figure of 108 men was the standard. The other figures were variants according to circumstances.

⁶⁷ The *Paradisus* and *Peregrina* were mentioned in a letter of Baldwin I to Innocent III dated to 1204. See *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 506 (no. 122). They were also mentioned by Villehardouin: see *Conquête*, 11: 44. The *Viola* was reported as lost at sea after leaving Venice: see 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', p. 87. The *Aquila* breaking the chain was recorded in one continuation of the *Historia ducum Veneticorum* as well as by Andreas Dandolo. See 'Historia ducum Veneticorum: Supplementum', p. 93; Dandolo, *Chronica*, p. 278; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 539.

⁶⁸ Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, p. 74: 'Et n'avoit mie en tout le navie plus haut de quatre nes ou de chinc qu'il peussent avenir as tours, si erent eles hautes.'

⁶⁹ See J. H. Pryor, 'The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships: A Reconstruction of Some Archetypes for Round-Hulled Sailing Ships', *The Mariner's Mirror* 70 (1984), 171–219, 275–92, 363–86, here 373–5. I still cannot comprehend how any crusader or pilgrim transport could have the 1,100 places for pilgrims that the Genoese *Oliva* apparently did in 1248. See E. H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 9–10 and doc. no. 15 at p. 81.

been needed and proportionately more as smaller ones were drafted in default of larger ones being available. The crews needed to handle sailing ships were considerable. Two large three-decked *naves* supplied by Venice to Louis IX for the Tunis crusade, the *Sancta Maria* and the *Rocafortis*, each had 110 sailors. Smaller ones required fewer.⁷⁰ For a fleet with a capacity of 24,500 passengers, perhaps around 4,500 sailors would have been needed.

Robert of Clari was misled by linguistic coincidence into thinking that *uissier*, for the transports which carried the horses, was derived from Old French *uis/huis/huys/wis* for a door, thus a ship with a hull port through which horses were embarked and disembarked. At Constantinople, he reported, 'the fleet landed, and when they had arrived [at the shore], then the knights issued forth from the horse transports (*uissiers*) already mounted; for the horse transports were made in such a way that there was a door (*uis*) on them that could be opened easily; and then a bridge could be thrust out by which the knights could issue forth onto land already mounted'.⁷¹ The word was actually derived from Arabic *'usharī* (pl. *'ushāriyyāt*) for a transport galley, found in the fleet of the Ṭūlūnids of Egypt from the ninth century, and then thereafter.⁷² As a generic term for horse transports it passed into Latin,⁷³ and then into vernaculars.

Two medieval Latin words were used for the actual ship types. *Che-landium* and variants were derived from Byzantine Greek χελάνδιον for a cavalry transport galley. The word appeared in Byzantine sources of the late eighth or early ninth centuries and in Latin in papal and Venetian sources from the second half of the ninth. *Tarida* and its variants were derived from the Arabic *ṭarrīda* (pl. *ṭarā'id*), the earliest surviving western use

⁷⁰ Pryor, 'Naval Architecture', table 6, p. 219. The source is 'Contractus navigii domini regis cum Venetis factus anno Domini M.CC.LXVIII', ed. C. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1636-49), v: 436-7.

⁷¹ Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, pp. 42-3: 'et quant il furent arrivé, si issirent li chevalier hors des uissiers tot monté; que li uissier estoient en tele maniere fait que il i avoit wis que on ouvroit bien, si lanchoit un pont hors, par ou li chevalier pooient issir hors a tere tot monté.' Cf. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête*, I: 156: 'Adonc commencent li marinier a ovrir les portes des uissiers et a giter les pons fors; et on comence les chevax a traire; et li chevalier commencent a monter sor lor chevaux . . .'

⁷² A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organization in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Seventh to the Tenth Century AD* (Cairo, 1966), pp. 150-2.

⁷³ Ottobonus Scriba, 'Annales januenses', ed. L. T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia II-14b, 5 vols. (Genoa, 1890-1929), II: 46 sub anno 1194: 'de stolio et expeditione ad acquirendum ei [imperatorii] regnum Siciliae sese magnifice accinxerunt sic, quod usque medium Augusti cum uxoribus et galeis, armis, et equitibus, et ceteris quae ad exercitum pertinent, de portu Ianuae copiosissime exierunt' (written before 1196).

apparently in Philip of Novara's reference to the arrival of Frederick II at Cyprus.⁷⁴ *Chelandium* gave way to *tarida* as the word for the ship type in the mid-thirteenth century.⁷⁵ However, given Venice's history of close contact with Byzantium and the evidence of John the Deacon that Venice began to build *zalandriae* by c. 852,⁷⁶ the Venetian *uissiers* of 1202–4 were no doubt in the Byzantine tradition.

At Zara, according to Villehardouin, the knights and sergeants landed from *nes* and the horses from *uissiers*. Leaving Corfu, the 'host' embarked in *nes* and the horses in *uissiers*. This ordering is consistent until the assault on Constantinople on 5 July 1203, when the knights boarded the *uissiers* armed, with helms laced and horses saddled and caparisoned: the only occasion on which Villehardouin recorded knights aboard *uissiers*.⁷⁷

Early Byzantine *χελώνδια* carried only twelve horses each but by the thirteenth century *chelandia* of Frederick II and *taride* of Charles I of Sicily could carry thirty horses. Assuming that Venetian *uissiers* could do so also, 150 would have been needed to fill the contract. These ships needed as many oarsmen as war galleys. *Taride* of Charles I shipped either 108 or 110 oars.⁷⁸ They probably carried fewer marines than battle galleys but they would have needed some officers and deck hands. Twelve *taride* for which Louis IX contracted with Genoa in 1246, carrying only twenty horses each, were to have twenty sailors, *marinariii*, in addition to an unspecified number of oarsmen.⁷⁹ Venetian *uissiers* of 1202–4 probably required around 130 men each, 19,500 men to crew the fleet.

In the end not all the ships and men were needed, but the Venetians did not know that until it happened. I estimate the fleet they assembled at fifty war galleys and 150 horse transport galleys with total crews of around

⁷⁴ Philip of Novara, 'Mémoires', ed. G. Raynaud, *Les gestes des Chiprois*, Société de l'Orient latin, série historique 5 (Geneva, 1887), p. 38: 'et mena o luy .lxx.entre gualles et tarydes et autre navie'.

⁷⁵ I have written about these matters elsewhere. See in particular 'The Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades: Eighth Century to 1285 A.D.', *The Mariner's Mirror* 68 (1982), 9–27, 103–25; 'The Crusade of Emperor Frederick II, 1220–29: The Implications of the Maritime Evidence', *American Neptune* 52 (1992), 113–32. An extensive discussion of Byzantine *χελώνδια* is part of a forthcoming book *The Byzantine Navy*.

⁷⁶ John the Deacon, 'Cronaca Veneziana', ed. G. Monticolo, *Chronache Veneziane antichissime*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 19 (Rome, 1890), p. 115: 'Illud etiam non est pretermittendum quod antedicti duces . . . duas bellicosas naves tales perficere studuerunt, quales numquam apud Veneciam antea fuit, que greca lingua zalandriae dicuntur.'

⁷⁷ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1: 78: 'Lors veüssiez maint chevalier et maint serjant issir des nés, et maint bon destrier traire des uissiers . . .' Cf., 1: 120, 154.

⁷⁸ Pryor, 'From Dromōn to Galea', p. 115.

⁷⁹ *Documenti inediti riguardanti le due crociate di San Ludovico IX, re di Francia*, ed. L. T. Belgrano (Genoa, 1859), pp. 19–25 (no. 12).

27,000 men, plus an unknown number of sailing ships with crews of around 4,500 more, a massive commitment. Even had all the crusaders contracted for turned up, the Venetians would still have rivalled their numbers. No wonder they asked for a half of any conquests.

By the late 1170s Egypt had become the treasury for Saladin's war effort, as William of Tyre appreciated:

Thus, as we have said, all the realms neighbouring us obey the rule of one [Saladin], they obey the nods of one, even if unwillingly, [and] at the command of one, as if one man, they arm themselves to our misfortune . . . from Egypt and adjacent territories, having an inestimable supply of the first quality and most pure gold, which is called *obrizum*, from other provinces having numberless companies of cavalry, fighters, and those thirsty for gold.⁸⁰

The failure of the Third Crusade in the face of Ayyūbid resources had shown that Egypt must be conquered before Jerusalem could be recovered. This was not an impossible dream since the Egyptian populace had been demilitarized for centuries and possession of Cairo, Damietta and Alexandria would deliver control of the country.

In 1191 Saladin lost most of his fleet at Acre.⁸¹ He died in 1193 and was succeeded in Egypt by his son al-'Azīz 'Imād-ad-Dīn, by his grandson al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-ad-Dīn in 1198, and by his brother al-'Adil I Sayf-ad-Dīn from 1200. The size of the Ayyūbid fleet by 1201 is unknown, but it certainly had some capabilities. According to al-Maqrīzī, the Miṣr shipyard in Cairo was still operating in 1194, al-'Azīz sent ships to relieve Bilbais in 1195, and the fleet attacked Frankish merchant ships in 1196.⁸² According to Abu Shāmah, in 1196/7 it returned to Cairo with seventy knights taken captive at sea and in 1197/8 it again returned with 550 captives after a cruise to Armenia.⁸³ In 1198, according to the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, al-'Adil made a truce with the Franks by land but not by sea, suggesting that the fleet had some capability to attack Latin shipping.⁸⁴ In 1203, according to the *Eracles* and Ernoul, an Egyptian emir who had castles in the region of Sidon armed galleys, sent them to sea, captured two Christian ships off Cyprus, and then attempted to re-provision his castles by twenty ships sent

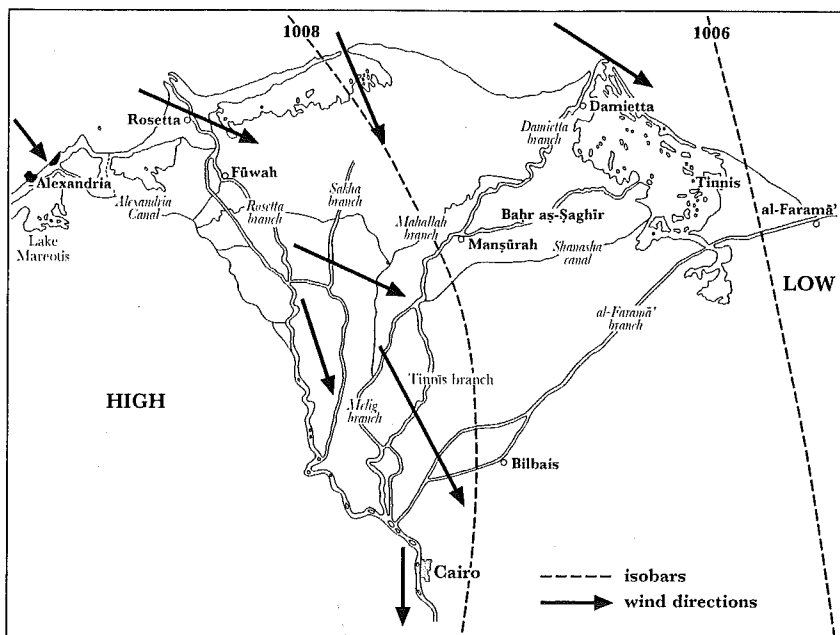
⁸⁰ WT p. 971.

⁸¹ See J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 125–30; Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 172–5.

⁸² Al-Maqrīzī, *History of the Ayyūbid Sultans*, pp. 107, 111, 123.

⁸³ Abu Shāmah, 'Livre des deux jardins', *RHC Or.* 4: 152–3.

⁸⁴ Sawīrus ibn al-Mukāffa', *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, trans. A. Khater and O. H. E. Khs-Burmester, 111/2 (Cairo, 1970), p. 171.



Map 2. The Nile delta c. 1200, with mean average barometric pressure and wind directions in July. © John H. Pryor

from Egypt.⁸⁵ Admittedly, when a Frankish fleet attacked up the Rosetta branch to Fūwah in 1204, there were said to be no ships to resist it; however, that may mean simply that no squadron was present on that branch at the time.⁸⁶ In 1207/8 ships of the Egyptian fleet were captured by the Cypriots and al-ʿĀdil sent to Acre to negotiate release of the prisoners.⁸⁷ It is clear that some squadrons had survived or had been rebuilt in Egypt by 1201.

The Venetians offered to provide a battle fleet which the envoys did not originally seek and this affords insight into their reaction to the envoys' requests. No one denies that they intended to derive benefit for themselves. On the one hand, they believed in the cause of crusade and embraced the

⁸⁵ 'L'estoire d'Eracles', p. 258; *Chronique d'Ernoult*, pp. 354–5.

⁸⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *History of the Ayyūbid Sultans*, p. 146. Abū'l Fida' reported the attack but did not mention the lack of Egyptian ships: 'Resumé de l'histoire des croisades tiré des annales d'Abou'l Fedā', *RHC Or.* 1: 82–3. Cf. Abu Shāmah, 'Livre des deux jardins', *RHC Or.* 4: 153. Ibn al-Athīr, however, did mention the lack of Muslim ships. See Ibn al-Athīr, 'Extrait de la chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh', *RHC Or.* 2: 96.

⁸⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, 'Kamel-Altevarykh', *RHC Or.* 2: 106–7.

envoys' proposals. On the other hand, they considered their own interests. The agreement spelled it out: they would share equally in any conquests. And, subsequent events confirmed it: Dandolo used the battle fleet to re-enforce Venetian suzerainty over Trieste and Muggia,⁸⁸ and took advantage of the other crusaders' financial straits to re-enforce it over Zara. Of that there is no doubt. But ever since the First Crusade personal and communal gain had accompanied the recovery of Jerusalem. 'In the name of God and profit' was not an aphorism confined to the flyleaves of merchants' account books. It was a sentiment common to many, in spite of Canon Three of the Council of Clermont. What is at issue is what benefit the Venetians had in mind. What objective justified the enormous expense of providing such a battle fleet?

They would have known that to go to Constantinople fifty galleys were unnecessary because virtually no Byzantine fleet survived. The only target against which they might be necessary was Egypt. In truth, fifty galleys were probably greatly in excess of what would have been needed, but the Egyptians would have the advantage of terrain, logistics and local knowledge. Cairo was a hundred miles from the coast and the only viable approach was up one of the branches of the Nile delta. As a product of Amalric I's campaigns and of intelligence gathered by merchants, the geography of the Nile delta must have been well known in Venice. Dandolo would have known that whatever route was chosen canals and branches would have to be crossed, via which the Egyptians could send reinforcements to wherever needed. Both the Fifth and Sixth Crusades would founder attempting to reach Manṣūrah across the Baḥr aṣ-Saghīr. The Venetians would need a marked superiority in firepower.

What objective justified the enormous expense of constructing and crewing the specialized fleet of *uissiers*? These were not ships which would have been ready at hand to be drafted. Had the destination been Acre, horses could have been carried far more efficiently on sailing ships. Constantinople is, admittedly, more problematical. *Uissiers* would certainly have been useful for assaulting beaches north of Galata in the Bosporos before entry to the Golden Horn could be forced,⁸⁹ but a mix of *uissiers* and sailing ships would have been more appropriate for Constantinople. However, an entire *uissier* fleet would have been absolutely necessary for an amphibious

⁸⁸ Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, p. 13; 'Historia ducum Veneticorum', p. 92; Andreas Dandolo, *Chronica*, p. 276; *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1: 386–403 (nos. 96–7).

⁸⁹ This essay originally included a study of the assault on the beaches on 5 July 1203, which is relevant to analysis of the composition of the Venetian fleet. It proved to be more complex than originally thought and considerations of length forced it to be cut.

attack on Egypt. Both the Rosetta and Damietta mouths were too shallow for large sailing ships.⁹⁰ Godfrey of St Pantaleon wrote of the fleet which Frederick II was preparing in 1224:

the lord emperor will have prepared fifty ships, which are called *usserie*, the size of which will be of such capacity that 2,000 knights with their destriers and the appurtenances of all their arms, and in addition 10,000 other men effective for battle and war with their arms in the same *usserie*, may be able to be transported; on each *usserium* of which there will be a bridge so that if necessary the knights, armed and having duly mounted their destriers on the ships without danger of injury may disembark by the same bridges, as if already drawn up in array about to advance to battle, and should there be need, with sails hoisted they may enter the river of Damietta or any other river.⁹¹

In addition to a battle fleet large enough to eliminate Ayyūbid naval forces, horse transports capable of following it up river in shallow depths and landing a significant cavalry force on the left bank beyond the al-Faramā' branch within striking distance of Cairo with all natural defences overcome would have been needed. If the attack went in in early July, before the Nile began to flood and when prevailing winds in the delta were from the north-west, an advance up river ought not to have been too difficult.⁹²

Should Egypt fall, the profits for Venice would be astronomical. The city in the lagoons would monopolize the entire oriental spice trade to Europe

⁹⁰ According to British Admiralty Chart 2630, survey of 1857, ed. of 1883, the shallowest point in the channel at the Damietta mouth had only 1.75 fathoms of water, 3.20 metres. The Rosetta mouth had even less depth: 1.25 fathoms, 2.30 metres. There are no hydrological reasons to suppose that depths would have been greater in the Middle Ages. Only galleys and small sailing ships could have navigated these channels. Cambridge University Library, Maps 719.01.2630.

⁹¹ 'Annales Colonienses Maximi', *MGHS* 17: 837: 'domnus imperator ad succursum terre sancte quinquaginta naves fecerit preparari, que usserie nuncupantur, quarum magnitudo tante capacitatis erit, ut duo milia militum cum dextrariis suis et omnium armorum suorum pertinenciis et praeterea decem milia aliorum hominum valencium ad pugnam et ad bella cum armis suis in eisdem usseriis valeant transferri; ad unumquodque usserium fiet pons, ut milites, si necesse fuerit, armati et ascensis dextrariis suis in navibus commodè absque lesionis discrimine per ipsos pontes valeant exire, quasi iam ordinatis aciebus in prelium processuri, et, si opus fuerit, erectis velis intrare possint flumen Damiate vel aliud aliquod flumen'. These transports were to carry forty knights with one horse each. Cf. the letter from Frederick II to Pope Honorius III of 5 March 1224 in *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols. (Paris, 1852–61), II/1: 410. Godfrey of St Pantaleon confused this fleet with another which was to carry the other forces in addition to the knights. See Pryor, 'Crusade of Emperor Frederick II', p. 124.

⁹² See map 2, adapted from the *Atlas of Egypt* and the maps and researches of Omar Toussoun, J. I. Craig, and W. Popper. See *Atlas of Egypt: A Series of Maps and Diagrams with Descriptive Text Illustrating the Orography, Geology, Meteorology, and Economic Conditions* (Giza, 1928), pl. 19; O. Toussoun, 'Mémoire sur les anciennes branches du Nil: époque Arabe', *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte* IV/2 (1923), 93–143 and maps 2, 3; J. I. Craig, 'Types of Weather in Egypt', *Cairo Scientific Journal* 3, 30 (March, 1909), 70–2; W. Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer: Studies in Ibn Taghri Birdi's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley, 1951), I: 64–88. The Nile begins to rise from mid-June but is not in flood until mid-August to late October.

and her Pisan and Genoese rivals, as well as everyone else, would have to deal through her. All the objective evidence suggests that in 1201 Enrico Dandolo played for high stakes. He threw all the resources of Venice into a gamble for a glittering prize. Perhaps by the winter of 1202-3 he had realized that there were insufficient knights for an attack on Egypt and in the circumstances became happy to settle for second best, Constantinople, when circumstances offered it. But Constantinople was certainly not his original objective.

PART TWO

The Catholic Church and the crusade

CHAPTER 8

The conquest of Jerusalem: Joachim of Fiore and the Jews

Anna Sapir Abulafia

Joachim of Fiore's life spans the second half of the twelfth century, a century marking crucial stages of development in Christian concepts concerning holy war and the role of Jerusalem in the unfolding drama of salvific history as well as a period of increasing Christian hostility towards Jews. Born c. 1135, Joachim would have been a child when the Second Crusade was preached and came to its disappointing conclusion. As an adult he witnessed the expansion of Saladin's power. In 1169 Saladin took over Egypt, in 1174 it was the turn of Damascus, in 1183 Aleppo followed. Jerusalem surrendered in 1187. The Third Crusade took its time to get off the ground. When it did, it could do very little to counter Saladin's might. In Joachim's apocalyptic vision of the future Saladin represented the evil sixth head of the dragon combating the church. Joachim imagined this sixth head (Saladin or his successor) to be joined imminently by the Antichrist of the seventh head who would be a western leader of heretics, king and pope rolled into one terrifying evil configuration who together with the forces of Islam would attack the forces of good. God's miraculous intervention would initiate the ensuing period of justice and peace. Joachim's millennial spiritual period of tranquillity, the third *status* of the Holy Spirit, would be ended by a final battle between a second Antichrist, residing in the tail of the dragon, and the elect of God. The church's final victory would mark the end of history. Every aspect of Joachim's highly complex vision challenged contemporary ideas about the efficacy of the crusades, the roles of both pope and emperor in Christian society, the threat of Islam and also the position of the Jews of Christendom.¹

It seems that Joachim was not unsupportive of the Third Crusade, notwithstanding the fact that the concept of this kind of holy war did

¹ E. R. Daniel, 'Apocalyptic Conversion: the Joachite Alternative to the Crusades', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 133; B. McGinn, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), pp. 126–38; B. McGinn, *Antichrist. Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco, 1994), pp. 113–16, 136–42.

not really concur with his developing ideas about the approaching climax in history. At his meeting with Richard the Lionheart soon after 25 December 1190 in Messina, he promised the king he would be victorious. But as the Third Crusade came and went, Joachim's appraisal of crusading became increasingly negative. In his view, Christendom would not experience the full terrors of the forces of Islam until they had teamed up with Antichrist. He did not doubt that Christ and his people would come out of this almighty battle triumphantly, but he saw this victory not as a military one in the first place but as a spiritual one in which pride of place would go to the *virī spirituales*, fountains of the Holy Spirit and replete with spiritual understanding, who by preaching would win almost all over to Christ. Only a few unbelievers would remain at the edge of the world, joining the final Antichrist in his attack on the church at the end of this period of spiritual peace. The ineffable power of the Holy Spirit, communicated by this new order of holy monks, would be irresistible, and Paul's prophecy of the final conversion of Gentiles and Jews would be fulfilled. Joachim was absolutely convinced that this apocalyptic conversion would come to pass and that it would happen soon after 1200, before 1260.² As such, he could hardly be a supporter of continued crusading activity. Joachim died in 1202.

Joachim's ideas about apocalyptic conversion obviously also coloured his ideas about the Jews. In the first place it is important to point out, as Robert Lerner has done, that Joachim's Antichrist was not a Jew. In a novel way he created a heretical Antichrist rather than a Jewish one. Although this Antichrist would deceive Jews (and Gentiles) he would not himself be Jewish.³ Beatrice Hirsch-Reich has looked at Joachim's views on Judaism in an extensive essay in 1966, in which she focused especially on his application of the Trinitarian symbolism that Peter Alphonsi had ascribed to the Tetragrammaton and to his ideas about Jewish conversion. Hirsch-Reich and others have pointed to his generally positive approach to Jews.⁴ What I propose to do here is to move away from the details of Joachim's apocalyptic thought and the position of Jewish conversion within

² Daniel, 'Apocalyptic conversion', pp. 127–46. Daniel argues against R. W. Southern's view that Joachim did support the crusades; R. E. Lerner, 'Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 566–9.

³ Lerner, 'Antichrists', pp. 566–8; see below.

⁴ B. Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', in *Judentum im Mittelalter. Beiträge zum Christlich-jüdischen Gespräch*, ed. P. Wilpert (Berlin, 1966), pp. 228–63. See for example H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte (11.–13. Jh.) mit einer Ikonographie des Judenthemas bis zum 4. Laterankonzil*, 2nd revised edn (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 345–58.

it. Instead, I want to study Joachim's approach to Jews and Judaism within the context of the aspect of the twelfth century that I know best: changing Christian attitudes towards Jews.⁵

Over the past years I have studied the impact of the increased use of reason in the Christian-Jewish debate of the twelfth century on Christian attitudes towards Jews.⁶ I have argued that Jews began to be seen as other than human and that the concept of Jewish irrationality/inhumanity, together with a number of other interconnected features of twelfth-century thought, began to erode traditional ideas of toleration towards Jews, embodied in the Augustinian witness theory, which safeguarded Jews against overt persecution and forced conversion.⁷ On account of this, I together with others have argued for the crucial position of the twelfth century in the development of Christian anti-Judaism. For a long time Jeremy Cohen took a different view, championing the thirteenth century as the pivotal stage in the development of anti-Judaism. For, according to Cohen, it was only in the thirteenth century that Christian polemicists got to grips with the Talmud and contemporary Jewish observance and practice. This led them to condemn rabbinic Judaism as a heresy against the biblical Judaism to which Augustine had awarded toleration because he imagined that it functioned as an affirmation of Christian truth.⁸ However, in a recent new study Cohen has revisited the application of Augustine's witness theory since the fifth century and has recognized that many important changes in emphasis did occur before the novelties of the thirteenth century.⁹ To my mind the importance of his book lies especially in the way it encourages

⁵ The research for and writing of this essay took place before Robert Lerner's important new book *The Feast of Saint Abraham. Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 2001) became available to me. The book contains two chapters on Joachim and the Jews (pp. 5-37) which explore in great depth Joachim's positive role for the Jews in his highly intricate millennial thinking. Professor Lerner demonstrates how these positive ideas, which were adopted by others in the following centuries, prove that not all millenarians were hostile to Jews. Joachim's treatise against the Jews features as part of Lerner's wider discussion of Joachim's millennial thinking and the role of Jewish conversion within it. It is not analysed as a specific example within the genre of Christian *Adversus Iudeos* texts. It is hoped that the exploration of Joachim's *Adversus Iudeos* from an entirely different perspective will contribute further understanding of the nature of Joachim's positive thinking about Jews. Equally, Lerner's book now provides the most up-to-date assessment of the place of Jewish conversion in Joachim's prophetic thinking, which provides the backdrop to his treatise on the Jews.

⁶ See especially my *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London, 1995).

⁷ Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, pp. 123-36. See also my 'Anti-Jewish Crusading Violence and the Christianization of Europe', *Journal of Progressive Judaism* 7 (1996), 59-77 and 'The Intellectual and Spiritual Quest for Christ and Central Medieval Persecution of Jews', in *Religious Violence between Christians and Jew: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. A. Sapir Abulafia, forthcoming.

⁸ J. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, NY, 1982).

⁹ J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999).

a much finer appreciation of the ongoing ambiguity of medieval Christian attitudes towards Jews.¹⁰ For all the negative views, which did begin to increase exponentially from the twelfth century onwards, the apostolic prophecy of final Jewish conversion, to which Augustine's theory, of course, subscribed,¹¹ prevented Christianity from any final and complete rejection of Judaism.

The twelfth century was not just a century marked by philosophical interest in reason. It was a period characterized by down-to-earth expansion of agriculture, industry and trade, urban development and the growth of social and political structures. At the same time it was a period of spirituality and ecclesiastical reform. And both imperial/royal and papal protagonists developed a rhetoric of Christian hegemony, as ideas evolved about the purpose and proper functioning of human (namely Christian) society. Within this rapidly developing society lay the uneasy presence of Jews, Muslims and heretics and anyone else deemed to be unacceptably at odds with what was considered to be society's common purpose at any one time. Augustine had formulated his idea about Jews witnessing to Christian truth within the framework of his overwhelmingly negative views about the fabric of human society. His human society consisted of the elect and the damned temporarily co-existing for purely practical purposes. His focus was on the ultimate separation between the City of God and the Earthly City and definitely not on the perfectibility of any city or society on earth. As Cohen has demonstrated, the challenge confronting Augustine's successors was how to apply Augustine's witness theory to their own society, which they were trying to perfect on earth.¹²

Much of the unease with the witness theory in the twelfth century may well have stemmed from this conflict, but that does not mean there were no good contacts between Christians and Jews. In Joachim's native Calabria good relations were the norm, as it was in the rest of twelfth-century Sefarad and cognate lands.¹³ It would take almost another century for the negativity coming from the north to have much effect on southern Europe. But in the north too a wide spectrum of thinking about Jews continued to exist. There

¹⁰ On the question of Christian ambiguity towards Jews see also Cohen's 'Christian Theology and Anti-Jewish Violence in the Middle Ages: Connections and Disjunctions', in *Religious Violence*, ed. Saper Abulafia, forthcoming. See now also Lerner, *The Feast*, pp. 1-4 and 118-121.

¹¹ Cohen, *Living Letters*, pp. 36-7, 39-40.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 59-71, 92-4, 121-2, 145, 217-8, 312, 395-6.

¹³ On the Jews of southern Italy see D. Abulafia, 'Il Mezzogiorno peninsulare dai bizantini all'espulsione (1541)', in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, 11, 2 parts, *Gli Ebrei in Italia*, ed. C. Vivanti (Turin, 1996), part 1, pp. 5-44.

was real interest in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and amicable contact between Christian and Jewish scholars. Latin and Hebrew sources attest to peaceful co-existence between Jewish and Christian neighbours as well as to episodes of violence. There is a danger of concentrating so much on the evolving negative views about Jews in the twelfth century that the existence of what was positive gets lost. But it is important not to lose sight of the positive not only in order to paint a more accurate picture and but also to understand why some Jews were able to continue to exist within Latin Christendom even at the lowest point of Christian censure of Judaism. My purpose here is, therefore, to analyse Joachim's *Adversus Iudeos* not in the light of his vast apocalyptic oeuvre but in the light of other anti-Jewish tracts of the twelfth century. For Joachim Jews did not constitute a problem because he was truly convinced that their conversion was imminent.¹⁴ I want to see how a man of such remarkable intellect, who was not locked into the polemical constraints of the Christian-Jewish debate, regarded Jews and the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. It will be useful to gauge what his views can contribute to a better understanding of the nature of twelfth-century ambiguity towards Jews.

Joachim's *Adversus Iudeos* is one of his minor works which he wrote alongside his monumental trilogy, comprising the *Liber de Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and the *Psalterium decem chordarum*. It would seem he was working on the books of his trilogy in 1183-4, during his stay at Casamari, the Cistercian house from which he sought incorporation of his own house of Corazzo into the Cistercian order. But pinpointing the exact date of any of Joachim's works is problematic, not least because he continued to revise what he wrote.¹⁵ Successive Joachim scholars have accordingly amended the chronology of Joachim's oeuvre as fresh manuscript evidence comes to light. Hirsch-Reich considered the *Adversus Iudeos* to be one of Joachim's earlier works.¹⁶ Writing a quarter of a century later, Kurt-Victor Selge suggested, however, that it was written in the 1190s, possibly 1196-7.¹⁷ For our purposes two points need to be made. In the first place Joachim mentions in the *Adversus Iudeos* that he is in the

¹⁴ Lerner, 'Antichrist', p. 568, where he states that it was the alliance between heretics and Saracens that worried Joachim and not so much the Jews.

¹⁵ B. McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, 1985), pp. 30-5, 45.

¹⁶ Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', pp. 228, 246.

¹⁷ K.-V. Selge, 'L'Origine delle opere di Gioacchino da Fiore', in *L'Attesa della fine dei tempi nel Medioevo*, ed. O. Capitani and J. Miethke (Bologna, 1990), pp. 113, 119, 124. Lerner, *The Feast*, p. 12 and p. 137 n. 59 cites Selge's dating, preferring it to Hirsch-Reich's.

process of doing work on the end of the world.¹⁸ His trilogy contains a plethora of material about the end and the process of the final conversion of Gentiles and Jews and the intimate connection between those works and the treatise against the Jews is obvious.¹⁹ Secondly, it is important to note that the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (the completion of which Selge dates to 1196–9),²⁰ includes Joachim's analysis of Peter Alphonsi's Trinitarian explanation of the four letters used in the Hebrew Bible to denote the name of God. The idea that the four letters (*yod, heh, vav, heh*) comprising only three *different* letters (*yod, heh, vav*) meant that God was *one* and *three* came to Joachim as nothing short of a revelation, and he dwells on it at length in word and in picture. As Hirsch-Reich has shown, it was deeply significant for him that the greatest of Christian mysteries, the Trinity, would seem to lie hidden in the greatest of Jewish mysteries, the ineffable name of God. Joachim did not employ this argument in his *Adversus Iudeos* and it would seem we must conclude that he was not yet aware of it when he wrote the treatise.²¹

Preaching was a central theme of Joachim's life and his work. We have already mentioned the essential part the *virī spirituales* would play in his fully worked out programme of apocalyptic conversion. Before entering the monastery at Corazzo, Joachim had preached widely in Calabria before and after he was ordained as a priest.²² Opinions differ as to whether he wrote his *Adversus Iudeos* with preaching in mind. He himself says that he undertook the work because he hoped to convert some Jews before the moment of general conversion arrived, but it is not so easy to imagine how it might have been used in any practical sense. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that he took the utmost care to find common ground with his imagined Jewish audience. It is especially by presenting spiritual explanations of the most controversial doctrines of Christianity that Joachim seemed to hope

¹⁸ *Adversus Iudeos di Gioacchino da Fiore*, ed. A. Frugoni, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 95 (Rome, 1957), p. 43. Frugoni does not date the work. On the title see now Lerner, *The Feast*, pp. 33–4. Lerner points out that no extant manuscript contains the title *Adversus Iudeos*. Joachim referred to the work as *Contra Iudeos* in a letter of 1200. For ease of reference I have followed Frugoni and refer to the treatise as *Adversus Iudeos* throughout this essay.

¹⁹ On this see Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', pp. 246–54.

²⁰ Selge, 'L'Origine delle opere di Gioacchino da Fiore', p. 124, but see his elaborate dating of the different stages of Joachim's work on the *Expositio*.

²¹ Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', 229–36; Alphonsi, *Dialogi* . . . , PL 157, col. 611; Hirsch-Reich, 'Die Quelle des Trinitätskreises von Joachim von Fiore und Dante', *Sophia* 22 (1954), 170–8; but also J. Tolán, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, FL, 1993), p. 240. Lerner does not refer to the fact that Joachim did not use Alphonsi's argument in the *Adversus Iudeos*. Detailed consideration of the dating of Joachim's *Adversus Iudeos* would demand expert knowledge of Joachim's full oeuvre and would go far beyond the remit of this essay.

²² McGinn, *Calabrian Abbot*, p. 19.

he would be able to explain to Jews how similar their beliefs really were. It is possible that this does reflect the way Joachim engaged in conversations with Jews. After all, in the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* he does say that he explored Alphonsi's ideas about the Tetragrammaton with a Jewish friend with whom he often discussed their respective religions (his friend did not convert!).²³

At the very start of the treatise he tells us that his purpose is not only to take issue with the Jews in order to protect Christian belief but also to expound to them Old Testament proof texts concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation and the concept of spiritual understanding, all of which they deny, because the time for pitying them, the time of consolation and their conversion is at hand. He is certain that it will be especially effective to show the Jews the many contradictions that a literal reading of the Scriptures produces.²⁴ A number of points are immediately clear. First, Joachim's main tool of argumentation would be exegesis and not reason. Secondly, as in all his works, spiritual understanding of Holy Scripture was of crucial importance. Thirdly, by proceeding from the given that the Jews will convert, he has set his work in a non-combative framework.

Joachim starts by tackling the Trinity, which he claims lies at the heart of his whole agenda. As a general introduction to this topic, Joachim introduces standard texts from Genesis and the Psalms in order to show the Jews how they witness to God consisting of a Trinity of three persons. He is at pains to castigate also Sabellianism, the Trinitarian heresy that denied the distinction of persons in God.²⁵ The range of his sampling is more interesting than the samples themselves, which are standard elements of any number of Christian-Jewish disputations. Having dealt with the persons of the Trinity jointly, Joachim does not go on to belabour the fundamental differences between Jewish and Christian perceptions of the oneness of God. Nor does he try to prove in an abstract manner the possibility of triunity as, for example Alan of Lille does in his *De Fide Catholica*.²⁶ He quickly shifts away from this highly charged point to concentrate on each individual person of God in order to demonstrate what he sees as the similarities between Jewish and Christian beliefs about the manifestations of God. In a startlingly novel way he writes:

²³ *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalypsum* . . . (Venice, 1527), f. 36vb. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, pp. 346–7 does not think the *Adversus Iudeos* was written as a preaching tool. Lerner (*The Feast*, pp. 137–8 n. 59) takes issue with Schreckenberg.

²⁴ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 3–4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4–9; on Sabellianism see McGinn, *Calabrian Abbot*, pp. 164–5.

²⁶ Alan of Lille, *De Fide Catholica*, III, PL 210, cols. 399–407.

Because he, whom we worshippers of Christ call the Father, is the true Lord and the true God, we and you have faith in common, and there is one creed for one as well as for the other. Because it is he who spoke and they were made, he who commanded and they were created. Assuredly, it is he himself by whose word the heavens were established. . . . What, however, concerns us is the Son and the Holy Spirit, whether (1) the Son and the Holy Spirit are in the deity; likewise whether (2) there are two other persons besides the person of the Father; and whether (3) something is found about them written in universal books (i.e. the books we have in common).²⁷

What Joachim has done is to lay out the nub of the problem concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, while at the same time carefully avoiding any reference to the coming of the Messiah and details concerning the life and death of Jesus Christ, the most emotive and controversial elements of any Christian-Jewish encounter. It is as if he deliberately first wanted to create as much common ground as possible between himself and the Jews by continuing to investigate the Trinity without launching into a discussion about the Incarnation.²⁸ In so doing his work comes across as far less Christocentric than most twelfth-century anti-Jewish tracts for which the question of *Cur Deus Homo* ('Why God-man') was of such primary importance.²⁹

Joachim begins by asserting that the Jews cannot find statements in their Bible about the Son because he 'who is truly God and sent truly by God . . . is not openly called "Son" but "God and angel".' But if he who is named angel is proved also to be God, then this has to refer to the person of the Son who is one *with* the Father (in whom both Jews and Christians believe, as Joachim has claimed above). Otherwise there would be two Gods, which would be contrary to the teaching of Moses that God is one. Alternatively, God would be sending himself, which does not make sense. To prove his point Joachim offers a range of texts from the Old Testament.

²⁷ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, p. 9.

²⁸ The Incarnation is, of course, the second item of his agenda, but even when he reaches it his discussion is coloured less by the explicit body language concerning Jesus and Mary, which other twelfth-century tracts contain, see below.

²⁹ For example Odo of Cambrai, Guibert of Nogent and Peter the Venerable, but also in a much more amicable way Gilbert Crispin. See my *Christians and Jews and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 107–12 and my articles 'Christian Imagery of Jews in the Twelfth Century: a Look at Odo of Cambrai and Guibert of Nogent', 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian Debate' and 'The *ars disputandi* of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster (1085–1117)' in my *Christians and Jews in Dispute: Disputational Literature and the Rise of Anti-Judaism in the West (c. 1000–1150)* (Aldershot, 1998), studies x, xvi and vi. There is some similarity between Joachim's approach here and what Robert Chazan has called the method of deliberate abstraction by Paul Christian in the Barcelona Disputation of 1263, *Daggers of Faith. Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley, 1984), p. 81.

In the course of his argument he asks the Jews to consider a particular text (Gideon's encounter with the angel in Judges 6) carefully so that they will stop denying that there is another person in the deity besides the Father.³⁰ To a Jew who were to ask him whence his fathers could have understood that the angel of God is the Son of God, he would reply 'truly whence they could understand the Father. For those who could understand God the Father because they were illuminated by the Holy Spirit, could also, illuminated by the same grace, understand God the Son, yes even the Holy Spirit, that is to say the whole Trinity.'³¹ Again Joachim highlights the importance of what he regards as common Christian and Jewish belief in God the Father. He concludes this section by emphasizing that what has concerned him here before anything else is to demonstrate that there is no singularity of persons in God. He expects to be able to prove more effectively that Christ is God when he deals with his Incarnation (the second item on his agenda). But before that he must deal with the person of the Holy Spirit.³² It is abundantly obvious how vitally important to Joachim it was to prove the existence of three persons in one God while at the same time disproving the singularity of persons. Every facet of Joachim's own faith and every minute detail in his conception of the course of salvific history hinged on his particular understanding of the workings of the three persons of the Trinity.³³

Following the structure outlined above, Joachim proceeds to argue for the true existence of the Holy Spirit and its mention by the Prophets. After a string of Bible texts which refer to the Spirit of God Joachim concludes that he has proved clearly enough the truth of persons in God.³⁴ He who spoke in the beginning and said 'let there be light' can be none other than God the Father. Here Joachim once again refers back to his assertion that Jews and Christians share belief in the Father. God the Father spoke by his word 'and he, who is so frequently called angel of God and who is nonetheless demonstrated by the Scriptures to be Lord and God and creator, can only be understood as God the Son, who was to be sent into this world in the form of our human frailness'. The Spirit of God 'to whom we bear witness as the third person of the deity' worked all those things through the prophets, which could not be done by man or angel.³⁵ Joachim continues by saying:

But because you Jews hear Moses' 'Hear O Israel your God is one God' without understanding it, you deeply abhor and detest those who confess the Trinity and

³⁰ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, p. 15. ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16. ³² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-17.

³³ See McGinn, *Calabrian Abbot*, pp. 161-203 on Joachim's highly complicated views on the Trinity.

³⁴ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 17-20. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

you assert that we have been seduced and led astray as worshippers of strange gods. Because this is a major stumbling block and makes you strangers to the faith of Christ, it behoves us to show here how pure and catholic [i.e. common to Christians and Jews alike] the confession of Christian faith in Christ is, if somehow you could understand that he himself is that seed of Abraham in whom, after the destruction of the multitude of idols, all peoples would be blessed . . . Let the sons, therefore, heed what was not given to their fathers to understand, because we Christians too have understood what our fathers were not worthy to understand . . . So hear and understand how our faith is purer than gold and recognize that he is our faithful master who has called us out of the shadows to his wonderful light.³⁶

As Joachim moves on to the final and third section of his treatment of the Trinity he is cautiously preparing the ground for the second item on his agenda: the Incarnation.

Joachim starts by encouraging the Jews to accept the concept of the Son of God in a spiritual sense. God's greatness goes far beyond human understanding. This means that when a human or angelic form is given to him or some kind of human frailness, the whole thing must be understood not carnally but spiritually. 'When it is preached by us Christians that God has a Son, you must not imagine anything human or corporeal in your heart, because just as we believe that God is ineffable power so too do we think that his Son is nothing but the power of God.' Nor must the Jews think Christianity is an alien faith unlinked to their Prophets. When John the Evangelist declared that 'in the beginning there was the Word', this is the word Jews name *dibur*. 'And what about the Holy Spirit, whom you call *rua*?'³⁷ If the Jews are still worried that Christ and the Holy Spirit are contrary to their traditions, then Joachim is certain they will not be able to continue to deny the most manifest of truths after he has shown them what the holy Prophets have said about them to their fathers. Biblical citations follow about God's Word and Spirit, exemplifying their strength. Joachim goes on to ask how anyone can say that the word of God, which lasts forever and which can bring about everything God wishes, is not a living thing or is omnipotent, giving life to all who receive it. 'But if you ask me what form that Word has, tell me what form God the Father has, of whom the Word itself is, and I shall tell you the form of his Word, because in both cases it is as impossible as it is ineffable.'³⁸ Joachim goes on to say that he is not capable of solving the mysteries of God's majesty. What the Jews call *dibur*, Christians call the Son and what Jews call *rua*, Christians call the Holy Spirit. All he wants is for the Jews to know that Christians worship the true God whom Abraham worshipped with his Word and his Holy

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Spirit. And he insists that Moses hinted at this Trinity of persons through his instruction to know 'in your heart *ki Adonai hu ha Elohim* ("that the Lord, he is God")'. For *hu ha* ('he is the') means one in nature; Elohim ('God': plural noun form in Hebrew) denotes triunity of persons.³⁹ As Hirsch-Reich has shown, Joachim's use of the Hebrew *dibur* and *rua* and the phrase *ki hu ha Elohim* does not necessarily prove that he knew Hebrew. *Rua* is often cited by the Fathers of the church. Moreover, his uncritical use of Jerome's *Book of Interpretation of Hebrew Names* would indicate no knowledge of Hebrew on his part. It would seem to reflect that Joachim had real contact with Jews and discussed these matters with them, as he himself tells us in the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*.⁴⁰ But it also indicates that whatever he may or may not have picked up from his contact with Jews about Jewish ways of discussing God, Joachim was passionately interested in focusing on anything at all which would seem to suggest similarities of belief within Judaism to Christianity. Whatever his sources were, it remains nothing short of remarkable how Joachim was at pains to make the Jews of his *Adversus Iudeos* receptive for a discussion about the birth of Jesus Christ. For even at this stage he pauses to look more closely at how Jews might react to the concept of the Word of God.

Joachim is concerned that it might prove to be a stumbling block for Jews that when they hear the material sound of the spoken words 'Word of God', the sound disappears. Abandoning for the first time his biblical tools, he explains that reason teaches that there is a difference between the word itself and the sound voicing it. If what is being said has no meaning, word and sound disappear together. However, that is not the case where what is being said is meaningful: the wise words coming out of the mouth of the wise remain in the hearts of the speaker and the listener.⁴¹ Having cleverly linked the concepts of 'word' and 'wisdom', he now needs to make plain that the concepts are not interchangeable. Otherwise it could be said that the word could perish in a man if on account of failing memory, what he knows were forgotten. A good word is indeed wisdom, but not all that is word is wisdom, in the same way that not all water can be called 'river'

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25; Deuteronomy 4: 39.

⁴⁰ See Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', pp. 240-1. See also above. For biblical and rabbinical ideas about God's word see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, xvi, cols. 634-5. But see Lerner, *The Feast*, pp. 24-9, where he re-opens the discussion whether Joachim might have been of Jewish origin. To my mind Hirsch-Reich argues convincingly that there was no factual ground for Geoffrey of Auxerre's accusation of c. 1195 that Joachim was born a Jew. Without coming to any definitive conclusion, Lerner is less convinced than Hirsch-Reich that Joachim could not have been of Jewish origin.

⁴¹ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 25-6.

and vice-versa. River water flows. The same is true for the words 'fire' and 'flame'. 'Flame' denotes that fleshy substance which is born, so to say, of fire. In the same way wisdom can denote what lies in the heart and what proceeds from the heart but it cannot be called word unless it has, as it were, put on a sound so that it can be received in the hearts of listeners by hearing it. Joachim says that he has gone to all this trouble of producing these examples in order to make the Jews understand that the Word of God is the Wisdom itself of God the Father. This Wisdom is called Word because 'he spoke and they were made, he spoke by his Word, which he spoke, and he made by his Word which he made, indeed it is read that he made nothing without speaking in order to make'. Joachim quickly adds that the statement in Proverbs (3: 19-20) recounting how the Lord founded the earth by wisdom and how the depths have broken out by his wisdom must be equated with the verse in Psalms (32[3]: 6) saying that the heavens were established by the word of the Lord.⁴² In other words, the Word of God annunciated at the beginning of St John's Gospel is the Son of God, the wisdom of God and the strength of God of whom Paul preached in his first Letter to the Corinthians (1: 23-4). Equally he is the strength and the wisdom of God presented in the Psalms (146[7]: 5). To the Jew who asks why the wisdom of God would be his Son, Joachim responds by pleading with the Jews to hear the words of Scripture and to understand them, in particular what is said about wisdom so that they will understand that wisdom is clearly the progeny of God and thereafter the instructress of all and the mother of all creatures with God: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before he made anything from the beginning. I was set up from eternity and of old before the earth was made. The depths were not as yet, and I was already conceived . . . When he prepared the heavens, I was present . . . Blessed are they that keep my ways (Proverbs 8: 22-32).'⁴³ The Son of God is, therefore, the Wisdom of God, who chose different names for different operations.

He is called Wisdom because he knew all things before they came into being; he is called Word because God became known to humankind through him; Strength because he is omnipotent; arm because by the word itself of God the heavens were made; hand because everything was made by him; fountain of life because he pours out waters of grace upon the people thirsting for God; light because he illuminates every person coming into this world; angel because he was sent for the salvation of the world etc.⁴⁴

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

Joachim closes by explaining that he has spelled all of this out so that the Jews know exactly what Christians believe about the Son of God and that what they believe is written in their books and so that they are not put off by this facet of the Christian faith and delay their coming to God's feast.⁴⁵

The previous discussion about the generation of wisdom has finally brought Joachim to the Incarnation. Continuing his conciliatory approach he starts off by saying that he knew, when earlier he equated the Word of God with the Son of God, that for Jews the thought of God's word taking on a human form by being born of the flesh of the Virgin Mary is a stumbling block. It seems almost as if he is conceding here that for all the similarities he has tried to construct between Jewish and Christian vocabulary about the word of God, he knows full well what the fundamental difference is between them. He knows that Jews are astonished that Christians say he was born out of God and the Virgin mother, that he was God and man, because it would seem impossible for one and the same person to be man and God, that is to say, so great and so small, eternal and temporal. They are appalled at the very idea of such great majesty visiting a female body and being enclosed in the chamber of a weak little body. Having graphically laid out the problem Joachim states that he will first explain exactly what the Christian faith has to say about this and then prove it with biblical texts.⁴⁶

'We believe that Christ was formed in the womb of the Virgin without a man's seed and that from the first hour or moment of his conception *dibur* adhered to it, i.e. the Word of God, just as the flame of fire adheres to a candle . . . as the flame of fire adhered to the bush which burnt before the eyes of Moses and did not burn (Exodus 3: 2).' Joachim then declares that he will prove this is so by examining biblical texts rather than the proofs of philosophers.⁴⁷ Here again he displays his strong preference for exegesis over the tools of reason and his grave doubts about the work done in the Schools.⁴⁸ The contrast between his approach and the approach of for example Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113) is stark. Odo used reason in his discussion of the Virgin Birth to insinuate that Jews lacked reason and were more like animals than human beings.⁴⁹ Before launching into an extensive

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁸ McGinn, *Visions*, p. 127 and for examples of Joachim's polemic against Peter Lombard's teaching on the Trinity see his *Calabrian Abbot*, pp. 166-8. See also B. McGinn, 'The Abbot and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Fiore', *Church History* 40 (1971), 32-3.

⁴⁹ See my 'Christian Imagery of Jews in the Twelfth Century,' in *Christians and Jews in Dispute*, study x.

exegetical exercise, Joachim makes sure to emphasize how obvious it seems to him that God showed exemplary mercy and goodness by not scorning the body of a woman. For if the Spirit of God visits male and female prophets it is not at all astonishing that he 'regarded it as fitting to visit the virginal hall in order to form the mansion of the holy body for the Son of God'. And what greater praise can there be for any power than that it displays itself humbler than one of its servants? Although majesty is worthy, it incurs fear not love; abjectness, contemptible as it is, inspires love more than fear. To love God is the foremost commandment, what deed can then be better than the deed through which men hold fast to loving God? In other words, the birth of truly God and truly man from the Virgin serves to praise God as well as to bring happiness to man.⁵⁰ Joachim has tackled here the problem he noted earlier that Jews regarded the Incarnation as an affront to God's majesty. Jewish questions about this matter resonated with Christian wrestling with the problem.⁵¹ Subsumed in Joachim's treatment is one of the commonplaces of the Christian-Jewish debate, namely that Jews in contrast to Christians fear God rather than love him.

Numerous biblical texts follow,⁵² which Joachim himself sums up as proving that the Christ (i.e. the Messiah) is God and man, granting life to the dead according to his divine nature, dying and being buried according to his human nature, rather than proving that he (i.e. Jesus Christ) who was born of the Virgin is the Messiah. Many of his examples are standard fare. What is remarkable is the casualness with which he glides over the crucifixion. In his interpretation of Daniel's chronology of human history, he simply mentions Christ's death that results in the rejection of the Jews because they denied him in front of Pilate. On account of this the transgressors among the Jews will follow Antichrist when he comes. He will command them to serve the Law of Moses and in this way the people of the Jews will destroy the city and sanctuary, that is, the church of Christ. Desolation will reign until the end of Antichrist's reign.⁵³ Joachim is not dwelling here on the specific details of the life and death of Jesus Christ in the harsh accusatory manner adopted by most other twelfth-century polemicists.⁵⁴ He is simply conveying his understanding of the course of salvific history in which the Jews have their assigned role to play before

⁵⁰ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, p. 30.

⁵¹ See my *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 77–8.

⁵² *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 31–56.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48–9.

⁵⁴ For example Peter Alphonsi, who was the first polemicist to accuse the Jews of deliberate deicide, and Peter of Blois; see my 'The Intellectual and Spiritual Quest for Christ and Central Medieval Persecution of Jews', forthcoming and 'Twelfth-Century Christian Expectations of Jewish Conversion: a Case Study of Peter of Blois', *Aschkenas* 8 (1998), 63–6.

all are converted to Christ. The question of Jewish deicide seems to have passed him by. Jewish interpretation of Scripture did matter to him. In the course of his exegesis he insists a number of times that Jewish literal reading of his examples cannot make sense of the texts.⁵⁵ Making sense of Scripture was Joachim's lifeline; it is not for nothing that Antichrist commands his Jewish minions to stick to the Law of Moses.

Joachim proceeds with his proofs concerning the Messiah. According to Daniel's arithmetic Jesus Christ has to be the Messiah and the Jews are mistaken in awaiting another. He admonishes them not to be the Jews who will join forces with Antichrist. In Joachim's eyes any Jewish denial of this reading of Daniel proves that Jews destroy themselves by wrongly interpreting the Bible and exposing the words of all the prophets to be false and inane. For if Daniel got his sums wrong here, he could be mistaken elsewhere. And if he can be wrong, so can the other prophets. Christians could end up joining the Patarians heretics denying the whole of the Old Testament, which is the root of their faith. This would matter to the Jews because it is in the Old Testament that the return of Israel at the end of time is prophesied. For Joachim the whole scenario is unthinkable and the urgency of his tone betrays how much it matters to him that the Jews should understand spiritually what was said spiritually. But he is not surprised that Jews, who have not as yet received the Holy Spirit through baptism, have not reached this understanding. God desired to hide his face from them on account of their fathers' pride so that the whole world would learn that it was subject to him. He urges them to bear God's small rebuke until he grants them the grace he promised to their fathers.⁵⁶ For all his desire that Jews should understand Scripture correctly, he is sure it is all within God's plan. His concern about heretical readings of the Bible is very interesting. Joachim often referred to western heretics generally as 'Patarini'. Here he might have had the Cathar reading of the Old Testament in mind.⁵⁷ The reason Jews have no understanding of Scripture is that the spiritual understanding, which the Holy Spirit has hidden in the prophets, cannot be grasped by carnal man.⁵⁸ Joachim has come to the third item of his agenda: spiritual understanding.

Joachim starts by doing what many anti-Jewish polemicists have done before him. He lists some of the paradoxes that a literal reading of the

⁵⁵ E.g. *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 50, 54. ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 57–60.

⁵⁷ On the use of the term Patarines see McGinn, *Calabrian Abbot*, pp. 153, 159. On Cathars, see *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 57–8 n. 2 and Lerner, 'Antichrists', p. 568. Lerner points out that Joachim calls the heretics who will be led by Antichrist Patarines in his *Expositio* (f. 134ra).

⁵⁸ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 60–1.

text would seem to produce. The texts he has chosen mostly describe the precepts concerning sacrifice. For this part of his treatise it is essential to him to show that these precepts contained figures for spiritual observance.⁵⁹ He makes this point even more clearly by dealing in more detail with three precepts which he says cannot be observed simply, that is literally, because they do not bestow on those who observe them eternal life: animal sacrifice, circumcision and the Sabbath. Eternal life comes from the sacrifice of a contrite heart, a circumcised heart and a spiritual Sabbath. There can be no doubt that Joachim had an extremely dim view of Jewish observance of ceremonial law. In his view what Jews observe 'is written on tablets of stone and the skin of dead animals'. The new covenant is written 'on tablets of flesh belonging to the heart, not in ink by the spirit of the living God'. Jews must follow Paul's instruction and give up the killing letter.⁶⁰ He then moves on to explain how the promises made in the Bible to Israel have to be understood spiritually if they are to make sense.⁶¹ He explains how it lay in God's plan that Christ was received by the nations while the Jews remained dispersed on account of their sins.⁶² He then turns to the salvation of the Jews, the finale of his composition.

Repeating his opening gambit, he assures them that their time of consolation is at hand.⁶³ Elijah will come 'to convert their hearts from hardened old age to the innocence of boys so that they will believe that the Son of God has already come into the world'. As Paul has said 'when the fullness of the Gentiles will have come in, then all Israel will be saved (Romans 11: 25-6). For in the Jewish people both things had to be fulfilled: blindness and illumination; hardness and conversion.'⁶⁴ In Paul's footsteps, Joachim is sure that the Jewish people were not rejected by God forever; their rejection served as a measure of correction and discipline for the Jews so that they would know that life lies in Christ and not in the Law of Moses (he is concentrating here on the Jews and not on the benefit Jewish rejection had for the Gentiles).⁶⁵ He insists that the Jews must circumcise their hearts and give up this law. The only one who could follow all the commandments was the Son of God. By so doing he has absolved all men from the impossible task of trying to fulfil the law. It makes sense that just as we all fell into death through the guilt of one man, Adam, we would rise into life through the justice of another. Because exterior justice is opposed to interior justice no attempt should be made to follow at least some of the commandments.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-6. Compare for example Gilbert Crispin: see my 'Gilbert Crispin's Disputations: an Exercise in Hermeneutics', in *Christians and Jews in Dispute*, study VII.

⁶⁰ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 66-9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-76.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 76-84.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Jews must be 'bathed by the water of holy baptism so that they, cleansed of the squalor of their disbelief, can accept, as they have been promised, the gift of the Holy Spirit'.⁶⁶

Joachim has no doubts that what he said about the end of the world will come to pass very soon because he has drawn his information from the Old and New Testaments. But he is hopeful that his efforts in this work will convince some Jews to convert before that time so that he will function like the puppy who preceded the angel Raphael who led Tobias to his blind father to give him light. The blind old Tobias represents the Jewish people; Raphael represents the Holy Spirit sent by God the Father in the name of Jesus Christ. The young Tobias represents the apostolic order. After the cure of his wife Sara, who represents the Gentiles, he returns with Raphael to cure his blind father. And so, the successors of the Apostles who rule the church in their stead, will be led by the Holy Spirit and will return to the Jewish people in spirit and preaching.⁶⁷ For once the Jews will have grasped the mysteries of Christ, they will shed the longstanding muteness of their doctors and burst into praise of God, just as the muted father of John the Baptist, Zachary, had done, saying 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who . . . redeemed his people.'⁶⁸

Joachim ends by pleading with the Jews to accept the word of peace before the great day of the Lord arrives so that they will not be as doubting Thomas, who had to see in order to believe. Nor must any unhappiness about the salvation of the Gentiles delay their entry to the feast, for as God has said in Luke they have always been with God and must rejoice at the return of their brother.⁶⁹ Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) had also invited the Jews to come to the feast in his anti-Jewish treatise, which centred on the parable of the prodigal son of Luke 15. Rupert shared with Joachim a profound interest in linking the progression of salvific history to the workings of the persons of the Trinity as revealed in Scripture. But there could be no greater contrast between Rupert's spiteful haranguing of his Jewish interlocutor and the pacificatory tenor of Joachim's treatise.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 90–2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 95–9. The imagery is drawn from the apocryphal book of Tobias. See Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', pp. 246–7. Both Frugoni and Hirsch-Reich compare Joachim's use of the imagery with that of Bede. On the imagery see Lerner, *The Feast*, pp. 5–7. Lerner (p. 7) explains that the puppy stands for Joachim himself.

⁶⁸ *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, p. 100, cf. Luke 1: 5–68.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100–1; cf. John 20: 24–9 and Luke 15: 31–2.

⁷⁰ On Rupert see my 'The Ideology of Reform and Changing Ideas concerning Jews in the Works of Rupert of Deutz and Hermannus quondam Iudeus', in *Christians and Jews in Dispute*, study xv. Rupert's *Anulus sive dialogus inter Christianum et Iudaeum* (ed. R. Haake in *Rupertio di Deutz e la*

So what does this remarkable work teach us about Joachim's views about Judaism and how does that expand our understanding of twelfth-century attitudes towards Jews? In the first place our analysis of the *Adversus Iudeos* will have made it plain that Beatrice Hirsch-Reich strongly underestimated the novelty of Joachim's treatise against the Jews. The work is not just interesting because of Joachim's conciliatory approach to Jews.⁷¹ His concentration on the Trinity, his lack of emphasis on the mundane details of the life and death of Jesus Christ, his interest in a spiritual explanation of the incarnation of the Word, the effort he makes to find concordance between Jewish and Christian belief about God while at the same time bringing into sharp relief the enormous difference between Jewish and Christian observance of biblical law, the overriding preponderance of exegesis together with his unquestioning faith in Jewish conversion are all startlingly new for a work dating to the end of the twelfth century. They indicate that what mattered to Joachim was the Trinity, the true meaning of Scripture and the course of salvific history. And for Joachim these three elements were completely intertwined. It is not for nothing that his treatise was structured along the lines of the Trinity, with the Father taking pride of place in the first part, the Son in the second and the Holy Spirit in the third. It is not for nothing that the backbone of the work was the complete concordance between the Old and New Testaments. That is why he took so much trouble to show the Jews how similar their belief in God was to Christian belief in God the Father. His conciliatory tone cannot be explained by simply referring to the fact that relations between Christians and Jews were generally good in Calabria. One must not overlook the fact that what he was doing here was governed completely by his own agenda and would hardly have been accepted by Jews.

Joachim's whole exegesis and vision of the end were based on spiritual understanding granted to man by the Holy Spirit. That is why what he saw as the Jewish literal reading of the Bible was completely unacceptable for him. But because Joachim was absolutely convinced that Jews would soon cease to be Jews (in any Jewish sense of the word), he did not have to agonize over their role in society, as other twelfth-century thinkers did. He could work positively with traditional ideas about the role assigned to them by God. He could record without derision or disgust that it was necessary

controversia tra Christiani ed Ebrei nel secolo XII, ed. M. L. Arduini (Rome, 1979), pp. 183–242) is constructed around Luke's parable.

⁷¹ Hirsch-Reich, 'Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum', pp. 244–5. G. Dahan, *Les Intellectuels Chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1990), p. 410 does not rate the work particularly highly either. Lerner, *The Feast*, p. 34 follows this line of thinking, adding that Joachim's tone in the work is hostile.

for Jews to be rejected by God so that the nations could be saved. He could treat with sympathy any sadness Jews might express on account of being used, as it were, to draw others to God, without accusing them of being hateful or jealous.⁷² In the same way he could condemn their adherence to the Law of Moses without resorting to any particular venom. Lack of Jewish spiritual understanding was part of God's plan too. Equally, he had no need to dwell on the question whether or not Jews were Christ-killers, or even worse, guilty of deliberate deicide. Joachim's whole discussion excludes traditional Christian ambiguity towards Jews and Judaism: Jews are wrong but they serve a purpose in the divine plan; in the end they will convert. As far as Joachim was concerned, this ambiguity was about to be resolved because Paul's vision of their conversion was about to occur.⁷³ In his written work he was not confronting the challenge of an ongoing Jewish community, the Judaism he was dealing with was already on its way out.

What we learn from this is a number of things. In the first place it is important to appreciate what an enormous difference it makes when an anti-Jewish treatise does not have at its core the problem of *Cur Deus Homo* and/or the suffering Christ. An obvious motive for harsh language is simply lacking. Secondly, it is instructive to realize how less charged a work can be which is far removed from the acerbic debating tone of the schools and which does not employ *ratio* as a weapon to exclude the other point of view. The fact that so many twelfth-century anti-Jewish compositions were centred on Christ's humanity and on reason explains much of their authors' negativity towards Jews. And that negativity often made it very difficult for them to support Augustinian views about the usefulness of Jews for their own society. This in turn reminds us how dependent twelfth-century views on Jews were on people's wider theoretical and practical interests; approaches to Jews differed as the concerns of those who wrote about them varied. Joachim's great interest in the Holy Spirit and the spiritual understanding of Scripture seems to have safeguarded him from hating Jews as much as his experience of friendly relations between Christians and Jews in Calabria. The Law of Moses is simply not as emotive a topic as the subject of Jesus Christ's suffering on the cross. At the same time Joachim's unwavering confidence in imminent Jewish conversion seems to have made

⁷² *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 76–7 and 101. See my *Christians and Jews and the Twelfth-century Renaissance*, pp. 126–8, on how Rupert of Deutz and Peter the Venerable accused Jews of jealousy and particularism on this point.

⁷³ See Cohen, *Living Letters*, pp. 7–8 on Paul's ambivalent views on Jews. See now also Lerner, *The Feast*, p. 2 where he quotes McGinn, *Calabrian Abbot*, p. 33.

his approach especially relaxed, not least, perhaps, because his Antichrist was not a Jew.⁷⁴

There can be no doubt that much of this is peculiar to Joachim. Nonetheless, his careful treatment of Jews and Judaism in his *Adversus Iudeos* has made it possible for us to see clearly the continuing existence of the built-in ambiguities of Christian teaching about Jews at the end of the twelfth century. His treatise has made this possible precisely because it is not dominated by acrimonious polemic about Christ-killers and animal-like Jews. The *Adversus Iudeos* is a fascinating example of a twelfth-century exploration of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. It does not only show how alive all the ambiguous ideas were about the divine purpose of Jewish rejection of Jesus Christ, it interprets those ideas afresh and makes them integral parts of a remarkable discussion about God and the course of human history. Twelfth-century engagement with the human nature of Christ must not cause us to overlook other facets of Christian theology, which evoked more measured views about Jews. Joachim's *Adversus Iudeos* is a tangible reminder that although the work of many twelfth-century polemicists implied that Jews should be excised from Christian society, Jews did continue to play a vital role in Christian theology. And for all the negative policies which medieval Christian ecclesiastical and lay powers eventually did enact against Jews by seizing their property or life, forcing them to convert or expelling them, the institutional church as a whole did not abandon Paul's vision of the conversion of the Jews at the end of time. Perhaps it is not so odd after all that the Jewish community of Rome is not just the oldest in Latin Christendom; it is the oldest community with a continuous history.

⁷⁴ See Lerner, *The Feast*, p. 121 on how Joachimite thinking needed Jews.

Crusades, clerics and violence: reflections on a canonical theme

James A. Brundage

Jonathan Riley-Smith once characterized the reports about the conduct of the armies of the First Crusade in the chronicles of Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Bourgueil as descriptions of 'a military monastery on the move'.¹ It seems appropriate to cast this essay for a *festschrift* in his honour in the form of a canonistic reflection on that memorable phrase.

The notion of the crusading army as 'a military monastery' would probably have struck Pope Urban II (r. 1088–99) as both familiar and strange. Familiar because Urban and his contemporaries often encountered military metaphors such as *miles Christi* or *militia Christi* used to describe fervent Christians of all types, but especially monks. The rhetorical conceit of the monk as a soldier had been employed for centuries.² Pope Urban's predecessor, Gregory VII (r. 1073–85) showed a particular fondness for such expressions.³ Although he sometimes used them to describe laymen, especially armed warriors who supported papal policies,⁴ he also employed them on occasion to describe monks, such as he himself had been prior to entering papal service at the *curia*.⁵

Urban II, another monk who became pope, described himself at the outset of his pontificate as a follower in Gregory's footsteps⁶ and, much

¹ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 2.

² St Benedict, for example, used the metaphor repeatedly; *Regula Sancti Benedicti*; ed. P. Schmitz (Gembloux, 1955), *Praefatio*, sections 1, 2, 58, 61.

³ See *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, *MGH, Ep. sel.* vol. II (Berlin, 1920–3), index s.v. *militia*.

⁴ C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, ed. and trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 201–28; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 650–8, and 'Pope Gregory VII and the Bearing of Arms', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. S. C. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 21–35.

⁵ Even after he became pope Gregory continued to maintain an austere monastic life style; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 662–4.

⁶ *PL* 151: 283–4; *JL* 5348. This and subsequent references to the revised edition of Philip Jaffé's *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–8) follow the conventions used in the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*.

as Gregory had done, Urban also described warriors, including those who enlisted in the ranks of the First Crusade, as Christ's soldiers.⁷ In contrast to Gregory, however, Urban was not keen to describe monks or clerics as *militēs*.⁸ Instead, Urban insisted on a different vision of Christian society. In Urban's view two principal groups made up that society. One consisted of kings, knights and other laymen. The other comprised bishops, monks and clerics. These two groups played contrasting roles in the Christian community. One of the chief distinctions that divided the two groups was that monks and clerics must abstain from the use of armed force, while the laity were not only permitted to bear arms, but had a positive obligation to use force to protect Christendom from its enemies.⁹

The notion that monks and clerics had no business waging war or bearing arms was, of course, hardly a novelty at the end of the eleventh century. Constantine had exempted the Christian clergy from military service early in the fourth century and by the fifth century church authorities had begun to forbid them to use weapons under any circumstances.¹⁰ Some early authorities, indeed, forbade men who had ever served in the army to be

⁷ At least two of the accounts of his sermon at the council of Clermont ascribe this expression to him; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.3.7, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 136, and Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.4, in *RHC*, Oc. 4: 14.

⁸ A. Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088–1099)*, 2 vols., *MGH*, Schriften, vol. 19 (Stuttgart, 1964–88) 2: 307–33.

⁹ Urban II, Epist. 6 (JL 5367) and 58 (JL 5459), in *PL* 151: 289, 338. The distinction between clergy and laity was spelled out even more influentially in *Duo sunt genera Christianorum*, a canon that found its way by unknown channels into the first recension of Gratian's *Decretum*, where it appears as C. 12 q. 1 c. 7; for the standard citation system to the texts of the *Corpus iuris canonici* and the *Glossa ordinaria* employed here and subsequently see J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995), pp. 190–202. Gratian ascribed it erroneously to St Jerome, but it is almost certainly much later and appears to be a product of the eleventh-century reform movement. Its authorship remains mysterious. See R. J. Cox, *A Study of the Juridic Status of Laymen in the Writing of the Medieval Canonists*, Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies, no. 395 (Washington, DC, 1959), pp. 20–6; L. Prosdocimi, 'Chierici e laici nella società occidentale del secolo XII: A proposito di Decr. Grat. C. 12 q. 1 c. 7, "Duo sunt genera Christianorum"', in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan, *Monumenta iuris canonici*, Subsidia, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1965), pp. 105–22; and J. Fornés, 'Notas sobre el *Duo sunt genera Christianorum* del Decreto de Graciano', in *Cristianità ed Europa: Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi*, ed. C. Alzati, 2 vols. in 3 (Rome, 1994–2000) 1, part 2: 463–84.

¹⁰ Cod. Theod. 16.2.2 (319). This and other Roman law references follow the standard citation system explained in Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 202–5. See also council of Chalcedon (451) ch. 7, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. G. Alberigo *et al.*, 3rd edn, trans. N. P. Tanner *et al.*, 2 vols. (London and Washington, DC, 1990), 1: 90; Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. K. Lake, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London, 1926–32, repr. 1992), 10.7.2, as well as F. Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im frühen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 11 (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 4–6; F. Poggiaspalia, 'La chiesa e la partecipazione dei chierici alla guerra nella legislazione conciliare fino alla Decretali di Gregorio IX', *Ephemerides iuris canonici* 15 (1959), 140–53 at 141–3.

ordained at all, because, despite penance and repentance, they still bore the perpetual stain of bloodshed.¹¹

It is well known, of course, that throughout the early Middle Ages many clerics, especially bishops and other prelates, ignored earlier admonitions on this matter. This can no doubt be accounted for, at least in part, by the fact that early medieval bishops and abbots commonly sprang from the ranks of a military aristocracy. German bishops were particularly noted for their ferocity – but so, too, were not a few early medieval popes.¹² Although earlier prohibitions of the use of weapons by clerics continued to be repeated, Carolingian and Ottonian prelates apparently believed – or at least acted as if – those admonitions applied only to the lower clergy.¹³

The peace movement in the tenth and eleventh centuries reacted against this situation by renewing earlier prohibitions against the use of armed force by clerics of all grades and dignities, even including bishops.¹⁴ So central was this to the agenda of the peace movement that some conciliar canons decreed that clerics who carried weapons thereby forfeited their entitlement to protection under the peace of God.¹⁵ These and similar prohibitions found their way into the principal canonical collections of the eleventh century.¹⁶

Given this background, it is not surprising to discover that one of the canons of the council of Clermont at which Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade insisted that clerics must not carry weapons.¹⁷ Robert the Monk's

¹¹ C. Munier, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain (IIe–IIIe siècles): Église et cité, Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident*, II, part 3 (Paris, 1979), pp. 184–96; J. Gaudemet, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain (IVe–Ve siècles)*, rev. edn, *Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident*, vol. III (Paris, 1990), pp. 142–3.

¹² E. N. Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate, 919–1024* (Lincoln, NE, 1932), pp. 206–22; L. Auer, 'Der Kriegsdienst des Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79 (1971), 316–407; 80 (1972), 48–70; Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg*, pp. 60–6, 105–7, 166–8.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁴ A. G. Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076', in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. T. Head and R. Landes (Ithaca, NY, 1992), pp. 280–307 at 287; see also E. Delaruelle, 'Paix de Dieu et croisade dans la chrétienté du XIIe siècle', in *L'idée de croisade au moyen âge* (Turin, 1980), pp. 233–53, and L. García-Guijarro Ramos, *Papado, cruzadas y órdenes militares, siglos XI–XIII* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 40–4.

¹⁵ H. W. Goetz, 'Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989–1038', in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, pp. 259–79 at 266–7.

¹⁶ J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), pp. 28–9.

¹⁷ The canon appears in four versions of the Clermont decrees; R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, vol. I: *Decreta Claromontensia*, *Annuario historiae conciliorum, Supplementum* I (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 74, 113, 143.

account of the pope's crusade sermon at Clermont includes a passage in which he describes Urban as forbidding priests and monks to join the crusading army without express permission from their religious superiors.¹⁸ Urban may well have said something along these lines at Clermont: it was sound canonical doctrine that a monk could not take a pilgrimage or other kind of vow without his abbot's permission.¹⁹ In any event it is certain from his letter to the people and clergy of Bologna that, at least by September of the following year, this was his policy.²⁰

This casual survey of the evidence might suggest that Urban II would have been dismayed to see the crusading army that he had called into being, comprised as it was of soldiers armed to the teeth, described as a monastic movement. But Jonathan Riley-Smith's metaphor, of course, expresses a deeper and more profound insight than this into one of the most intriguing paradoxes of the First Crusade. The warriors of the First Crusade in the course of their expedition adopted many of the spiritual goals and some of the ascetic exercises characteristic of monks. They and the historians who recorded their deeds described them as pilgrims²¹ and the eleventh-century

¹⁸ Robertus Monachus, *Historia Iherosolimitana* 1.2, in *RHC*, Oc. 3: 729–30.

¹⁹ A common form of this prohibition seems first to have appeared in the *Penitential* of Archbishop Theodore 2.6.9; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–71; repr. 1964) III: 195. Several eleventh-century canonical collections on the Continent subsequently incorporated this passage, including Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* 8.9, in *PL* 140: 794; the *Liber canonum diuersorum sanctorum patrum sine Collectio* in *CLXXXIII titulos digesta* 129.6, ed. G. Motta, *Monumenta iuris canonici*, Corpus Collectionum, vol. VII (Vatican City, 1988), p. 206; and the *Collectio Vetus Gallica* 46.18, ed. H. Mordek in *Kirchenrecht und Reform in Frankreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1975), p. 536. Bishop Ivo of Chartres also placed it in his *Decretum*, which he completed at just about the time of the council of Clermont; *Decretum* 7.32, in *PL* 161: 553. Urban consecrated Ivo as bishop of Chartres in 1091 and the two remained close. They saw one another frequently and corresponded numerous times on canonical matters; see R. Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte*, Pariser Historische Studien, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 13 n. 19, 178–9, 184–9. Ivo, perhaps not surprisingly, incorporated a substantial number of Urban's decretal letters into his canonical collections; F. J. Gossman, *Pope Urban II and Canon Law*, Canon Law Studies, no. 403 (Washington, DC, 1960), pp. 49–58.

²⁰ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901; repr. Hildesheim, 1973), pp. 137–8: 'Neque clericis uero, neque monachis sine episcoporum uel abbatum licentia illuc eundi concedimus facultatem. Porro episcopis cura sit, ne parochianos suos sine clericorum consilio et prouisione dimittant.'

²¹ A specific term, *cruceignatus*, to distinguish crusaders from other pilgrims did not begin to come into use until the very end of the twelfth century; M. Markowski, 'Cruceignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage', *JMH* 10 (1984), 157–65; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Idea of Crusading in the Charters of Early Crusaders, 1095–1102', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, no. 236 (Rome, 1997), pp. 155–66 at 157–9; C. T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 52–4.

pilgrim by definition either was a penitent or was at least expected to act like one.²² Prior to the mid-eleventh century pilgrims to the Holy Land had traditionally travelled unarmed and depended upon local authorities along their routes for protection. From the 1060s onwards, however, as more and more of them began to make their way to the Levant along land routes, Holy Land pilgrims began to carry weapons for self-defence.²³ Although some pilgrims remained reluctant to defend themselves even against armed attacks, the ethos of pilgrimage was beginning to show signs of significant change during the generation prior to the First Crusade.

Despite the shift in the character of pilgrimage marked by the appearance of armed pilgrimages, penitential practices continued to form a central element of pilgrimage during the First Crusade. Leaders of the expeditions that comprised the First Crusade enjoined various kinds of ascetic practices upon the warriors under their command. These served not only to win God's favour at times of crisis, but also to remind participants of their goals and to reinforce their determination to achieve them. The favoured penitential exercises included fasting, confession of sins, and prayers,²⁴ as well as rogatory processions,²⁵ and especially sexual abstinence²⁶ – all typical monastic disciplines.

Once they had captured Jerusalem in July 1099, and defeated a late-arriving Egyptian relief force at Ascalon in August, the great majority of the surviving participants in the First Crusade made haste to return to their

²² F. Garrisson, 'À propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique', in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1965) II: 1165–89; E. Delaruelle, 'L'idée de croisade chez saint Bernard, III: La croisade comme pèlerinage', in his *L'idée de croisade*, pp. 162–6; C. Krötzel, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter*, Studia Historica, no. 46 (Helsinki, 1994), pp. 142–6.

²³ E. Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–1065', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students*, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 3–43; A. Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque du moyen âge, no. 13 (Brussels, 1998), pp. 37–8.

²⁴ Thus, e.g., *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. M. T. Hill, Medieval Texts (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 67–8; *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, vol. IX (Paris, 1969), p. 144; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, vol. XII (Paris, 1977), p. 110; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *RHC*, Oc. 4: 470–1; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, *RHC*, Oc. 3: 827; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–1980) V: 100; letter of Bohemund and other leaders to Urban II in *Epistulae et chartae*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 161–5.

²⁵ *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hill, p. 90; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, V: 164–68; letter of Daimbert of Pisa to the pope in *Epistulae et chartae*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 167–74 at 171.

²⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.15.14, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 223; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *RHC* Oc. 4: 365; see also J. A. Brundage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in *CS*, pp. 57–65.

European homelands.²⁷ The minority who remained in the Holy Land were perennially hard-pressed throughout the history of the Latin states in the Levant to find sufficient military manpower to retain effective control over the territories that the warriors of the First Crusade had conquered. That they succeeded in doing so at all, even for the two centuries that the Latin states endured, owed much to the emergence during the opening decades of the twelfth century of a radically new variety of religious life: the military orders.²⁸

The connection between these institutions and the warriors who made up the host of the First Crusade, to be sure, may seem a trifle tenuous. The brothers of the military orders were not crusaders in the rigour of the term, for although they made other vows, they did not take the crusading vow,²⁹ which had become, both in law and in practice, the defining term of crusader status.

Despite this, it may not be inappropriate, especially in this *festschrift*, to suggest that these institutions may appropriately be understood as an institutionalization of Riley-Smith's 'military monastery on the move'. The military orders, I would argue, clothed the enthusiasm and the accompanying religious practices of the first crusaders with the legal form of a corporation, and that in turn allowed them to survive for an extended period the breakup of the army following the battle of Ascalon. The canon law of corporations, which developed rapidly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,³⁰ thus provided a mechanism for investing a transient movement with something that came close to immortality.³¹

The appearance of the Knights Hospitallers and Knights Templars in the Latin East during the second decade of the twelfth century, however,

²⁷ H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford, 1988), p. 59; H. S. Fink, 'The Foundation of the Latin States, 1118-1144', in *HC* 1: 368-9.

²⁸ Among the numerous accounts of the origins of the two original military orders M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-37, and J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 32-59 are the most reliable and informative. For a more general overview, including later foundations, see also A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992), pp. 6-43.

²⁹ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London, 1977), pp. 70-3.

³⁰ Classic studies of the development of medieval corporation law include G. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, 1964), esp. pp. 27-38; E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), esp. pp. 273-313; B. Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*, 2nd edn (Leiden, 1998), esp. pp. 98-140, briefly summarized in *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought, 1150-1650* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 19-28.

³¹ Cf. related arguments of Brundage in 'Immortalizing the Crusades: Law and Institutions', in *Montjoie*, ed. Kedar, Riley-Smith and Hiestand, pp. 251-60.

presented ecclesiastical authorities, and canon lawyers in particular, with a knotty conceptual problem.³² The military orders were a new and previously unheard-of kind of religious organization. They were hybrid groups that simply did not fit into any established category within the church's legal structure. They were not exactly monks, nor were they canons-regular, nor were they clerics, yet in some respects their way of life resembled elements of each of these conventional religious groups. Like monks and canons regular, Hospitaller and Templar brethren, once they had passed a probationary period, made a profession to a religious superior, in the course of which they took the three conventional monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.³³ Unlike traditional monks in the Benedictine mould, however, individual members of the military orders were mobile, not bound by a vow of stability to remain in the particular house or community where they made their profession.³⁴ Unlike monks and canons-regular, the knights and sergeants of the military orders did not receive the monastic tonsure upon profession, although their chaplains were of course tonsured, as had long been required for clerics.³⁵ Again like monks and canons-regular the Templars and Hospitallers quickly secured for themselves a generous bundle of ecclesiastical privileges. Popes early on granted them papal protection for their houses and persons.³⁶ In addition they received immunity from payment of tithes on lands that they cultivated, as well as the right to collect tithes on lands they possessed and worked with their own labour,³⁷ together

³² Cox, *A Study of the Juridic Status of Laymen*, pp. 28–9.

³³ *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, section 675, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 171; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, pp. 232–3.

³⁴ *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. Schmitz, section 58.

³⁵ Second Council of Nicaea (787) ch. 14, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Alberigo, trans. Tanner 1: 149. Ivo of Chartres included this canon in his *Decretum* 5. 376 (PL 161: 436–37), whence it found its way c. 1150 into the second recension of Gratian's *Decretum* at D. 69 c. 1. Pseudo-Isidore ascribed a somewhat similar canon to Pope Anicius: *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. P. Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863; repr. Aalen, 1963), p. 122. This canon, too, was picked up by Ivo, *Decretum* 6. 46 (PL 161: 454), then by Gratian in D. 23 c. 21 (first recension).

³⁶ *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte*, ed. R. Hiestand, 3 vols, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 3. Folge, vols. 77, 135, 136 (Göttingen, 1972–85), e.g., vol. 1, nos. 3, 6, 22, 27, 38, 41, 61, 77, 93, 105, 109, and vol. II, nos. 1, 2, 7, among many others.

³⁷ E.g., *Papsturkunden*, ed. Hiestand, vol. 1, nos. 3, 17, 61, 79, 104, 105, etc., as well as *The Rule of the Templars*, section 58, trans. Upton-Ward, p. 33. These tithe privileges found their way into the *Liber Extra* promulgated by Gregory IX in 1232 and thus became part of the general law of the church; x 3.30.10 (JL 14,117) and 34 (4 Lat. c. 55) as well as x 5.33.24 (4 Lat. c. 57). The tithe privileges excited considerable controversy and ill-will, on which see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 240, 298–303, 306. William of Tyre in particular was a fierce critic of their use by the Hospitallers; on this issue see his *Chronicon* 18.3, 7, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vols. 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986) II: 812–13, 820.

with exemption from most types of episcopal control, including immunity from the effects of excommunication or interdict pronounced by bishops,³⁸ the right to maintain their own churches and cemeteries,³⁹ the *privilegium fori*, or right to be tried exclusively in ecclesiastical courts,⁴⁰ and much else besides.⁴¹

Save for the chaplains, who were relatively few in number,⁴² most members of the military orders were knights and sergeants. These groups in some respects resembled the *conversi*, or lay brothers, and *familiares* attached to communities of Cluniacs, Cistercians and other monastic orders.⁴³ Although the correspondence was not exact, it was reasonably close.

The most striking contrast between members of the military orders and members of conventional religious communities lay, of course, in the fact that the knights and sergeants in these orders not only carried arms, but put them to use as part of their religious vocation. Canon law long before the First Crusade, as we have seen, had strictly forbidden clerics, monks, and canons-regular to carry weapons at all, much less to fight with them.⁴⁴ 'He who cares to involve himself with the worldly militia', wrote Pope Leo the Great (440–61), 'is not free from the devil's snares.'⁴⁵ Yet the Templars and Hospitallers were undeniably religious orders, approved and privileged by the papacy, whose members dedicated themselves to warfare against the opponents of Christendom.

Academic canon lawyers, whose task it was to reduce the enormous mass of ecclesiastical law to an orderly, rational form so that students and ecclesiastical administrators could make sense of it,⁴⁶ could scarcely ignore these contradictions. They had to discover, or contrive, a juridical category that could accommodate all these disparate groups, including monks,

³⁸ *Papsturkunden*, ed. Hiestand, vol. 1, nos. 3, 57, 61, 62; vol. II, nos. 1, 2, 7, etc.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 3, 31, 51, 57, 61, 93, 105, etc.

⁴⁰ R. Génestal, *Le privilegium fori en France du Décret de Gratien à la fin du XIV^e siècle*, 2 vols, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses, vols. 35, 39 (Paris, 1921–4), I: 27–8.

⁴¹ Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, pp. 375–89; Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 56–9.

⁴² Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 195–8; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, pp. 233–6.

⁴³ C. de Miramon, *Les 'donnés' au moyen âge: Une forme de vie religieuse laïque v. 1180–v. 1500* (Paris, 1999), pp. 72–8.

⁴⁴ E.g., Burchard, *Decretum* 2. 211–12 (PL 140: 661); Ivo, *Decretum* 5. 332–4, 6. 286–7 (PL 161: 424–5, 504–5); Ivo, *Panormia* 3. 168 (PL 161: 1169).

⁴⁵ Letter to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, written in 458/59; JK 544. Part of this letter appeared in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals and later in the *Decretum* of Gratian; *Decretales Pseudo-Isidoriani*, ed. Hinschius, p. 617; Gratian, D. 5 de pen. c. 3.

⁴⁶ Gratian (whoever he may have been) expressed this mission pithily in the original title of his work: *A Harmony of Conflicting Canons (Concordia discordantium canonum)*; see esp. S. Kuttner, 'Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law', in *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Aldershot, 1992), study 1.

canons-regular, clerics, *conversi*, *familiares*, and members of the military orders. After some groping for a solution they succeeded in fashioning out of scattered legal fragments in Gratian's *Decretum* the new category of ecclesiastical persons.⁴⁷ This concept achieved definitive status in the *Glossa ordinaria*, or Standard Gloss on Gratian's *Decretum*, composed by Johannes Teutonicus between 1214 and 1216.⁴⁸ The Standard Gloss possessed enormous prestige: it was taught in the law schools⁴⁹ and was deemed to have equal authority with the legal texts on which it commented. Judges and practitioners, indeed, sometimes reckoned that it had more.⁵⁰

Templars and Hospitallers, Johannes Teutonicus observed in one passage, although not clerics, are not laymen either.⁵¹ Instead, he declared in a different passage, they fell into the class of ecclesiastical persons, just as *conversi* did. Members of the military orders, to be sure, differed from *conversi*, since they were allowed by special permission, to wield weapons. They nevertheless were still part of the same juridical class of ecclesiastical persons as *conversi*.⁵²

Johannes Teutonicus did not, of course, create the class of ecclesiastical persons out of thin air: he was both far too good a lawyer and much too conscientious a teacher for that. Instead, as the citations in his glosses show, he brought together scattered passages from the canonical texts in Gratian's *Decretum* that referred to ecclesiastical persons and from them

⁴⁷ Pre-existing components of the new category included C. 11 q. 1 c. 34, C. 17 q. 4 c. 21, and C. 27 q. 1 c. 40; Cox, *Study of the Juridic Status of Laymen*, pp. 29–30. The new category had the additional virtue that it could even be stretched to include nuns and other religious women.

⁴⁸ S. Kuttner, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 20 vols. to date (Berlin, 1953–), x: 571–3.

⁴⁹ Thus, e.g., in Bologna's *Statuta universitatis scholarium iuristarum* 2. 44, ed. H. Denifle in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 3 (1887), 314; likewise in Cambridge University's *Statuta antiqua in ordinem redacta*, section 96, in *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (London, 1852) 1: 364.

⁵⁰ W. Engelmann, *Die Wiedergeburt der Rechtskultur in Italien durch die wissenschaftliche Lehre. Eine Darlegung der Entfaltung des gemeinen italienischen Rechts und seiner Justizkultur im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 189–204.

⁵¹ *Glos. ord.* to D. 23 c. 29 v. *laicus*: 'Arg. contra templarios et hospitalarios. Sed illi non dicantur laici, cum sint Deo deuote, ut 12. q. 1, Duo [C. 12 q. 2 c. 7] uel ipsi habent hoc ex speciali priuilegio.' Johannes was commenting here on a canon that held that religious women, however learned, could not teach men in a convent, while laymen should not teach when clerics were available to do so. He seized this opportunity to make the point that Templars and Hospitallers (like nuns) were not really laymen.

⁵² *Glos. ord.* to C. 12 q. 1 c. 7 v. *conversi*: 'Conuersi omnes dicuntur ecclesiasticae personae, ut 17 q. 4 Quisquis [C. 17 q. 4 c. 21], et uerberans talem incidit in canonem, Extra de sent. excom. Non dubium [1 Comp. 5.34.6 = X 5.39.5; Alexander III, JL 13,893] et habebunt habitum illorum cum quibus conuersantur, ut 16 q. 7 In nona [C. 16 q. 7 c. 22], et licet conuersi hic dicantur Deo deuoti, non tamen tenentur continere, nam quidam talium profitentur, quidam non, ut 27 q. 1 Ut lex [C. 27 q. 1 c. 40], nam acolythi sunt ecclesiasticae personae, tamen non tenentur continere, ut 32 dist. Si quis eorum [D. 32 c. 7], quia possunt contrahere matrimonium legitimum. Item licet templarii sint ecclesiasticae personae, tamen possunt mouere arma ex permissione ecclesiae.'

constructed a definition of that term into which he then fitted Templars and Hospitallers.⁵³

This is but one example of the ways in which canonists in the classical age of medieval canon law⁵⁴ shaped, and in the process often revamped in basic ways, the medieval church's juristic structure.⁵⁵ Once the piety and religious fervour that led Jonathan Riley-Smith to characterize the theologized accounts of the First Crusade as descriptions of a 'military monastery on the move' commenced to take institutional form in the military orders of Templars and Hospitallers, these new, and juristically quite anomalous institutions, had somehow to find a niche in the church's legal structure. Since they fitted into no existing category, the canonists' contribution was to create a new one for them.

⁵³ *Glos. ord.* to C. 17 q. 4 c. 21 v. *ecclesiasticis personis*: 'Ut sunt conuersi et poenitentes, templarii et hospitalarii, qui gaudent priuilegio clericali, 27 q. 1 Ut lex [C. 27 q. 1 c. 40]; 11 q. 1 Aliud [C. 11 q. 1 c. 34]; Extra de sent. exc. Parochianos [1 Comp. 5.34.14 = X 5.39.9; Alexander III, JL 13,742]; et 12 q. 1 Duo sunt [C. 12 q. 1 c. 7].'

⁵⁴ Conventionally taken to mean the period between 1140 and 1378; G. Le Bras, C. Lefebvre and J. Rambaud, *L'âge classique, 1140-1378: Sources et théorie du droit*, Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'église en Occident, vol. VII (Paris, 1965), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵ See also the reflections of Richard Helmholz on this process in *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 394-9.

Humbert of Romans and the crusade

Penny J. Cole

The codex MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 3847 (hereafter Vat. lat. 3847) consists of two works. The second is the *vita* of St Thomas Aquinas composed by Bernard Gui OP when he was bishop of Lyons. Gui himself inscribed his text with a dedication to Pierre Roger, master of theology at Paris,¹ and on the last folio is the date 1324.² This *vita*, long recognized as an invaluable source for Thomas's biography,³ together with the fame of its author and of the dedicatee, have attracted extensive critical attention to the Vatican codex. However welcome this interest in Aquinas, it nonetheless has been at the expense of the first work in the codex, the *Liber sive tractatus de predicacione crucis contra Sarracenos infideles et paganos* (hereafter *De predicacione crucis*) written around, but not before, 1266 by Humbert of Romans, the fifth Master General of the Dominican Order.⁴ As its title suggests, this is a tract on crusade preaching and in what follows, I shall attempt to rescue it from its current neglect by indicating something of its valuable contribution to medieval crusade historiography.

There are eighteen identified manuscripts of the *De predicacione crucis* and a single incunabulum dated to 1495.⁵ There is no critical edition.⁶ While the majority of the recensions date to the fifteenth century, the Vatican text is the earliest, and, for reasons which will be discussed, must be dated to a time before 1369. Positing a date *post quem* is more difficult. The principal

¹ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 27r: 'Venerabili viro domino Petro Rogerii magistro in theologia Parisius frater B[ernardus] episcopus Lodonensis presentem legendam sancti Thome de Aquino transmittit [sic].'

² Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 27r: 'Actum fuit hoc Parisius in mense Februario anno Domini millesimo ccc vicesimo quarto.'

³ See, for example, the critical edition and notes by D. Prümmer OP, *Fontes Vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis* (Toulouse, 1911), pp. 168–259.

⁴ Humbert refers (Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 1v) to the 'recent' (*nuper*) loss of the Templar fortress of Safad, which was taken by Baybars in 1266: 'De hiis autem paucis nuper amisimus castrum quod dicebatur Saphet in quo quasi duo milia Christianorum . . . sunt perempti.'

⁵ T. Kaeppli OP, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. II (Rome, 1975), p. 289.

⁶ I am presently preparing a critical edition for 'Corpus Christianorum'. This present essay represents preliminary findings of a study in progress.

reason for this stems from the problematic codicological association of Humbert's *De predicacione crucis* with Gui's *vita* of Aquinas. Although the continuous numbering of the folio pages gives Vat. lat. 3847 an overlay of unity, these numbers almost certainly postdate both of its texts. In fact, the evidence suggests strongly that Vat. lat. 3847 did not assume its present appearance as a single codex comprising two works until somewhere in the middle of the fourteenth century, before 1369. The two works are in different hands, the lines for the text of the *De predicacione crucis* have been done in dry point but are ruled for the text of the *vita*, and the whole codicological presentation, including the binding, suggests original discontinuity. In other words, the suggestion here is that the text of the *De predicacione crucis* was originally a discrete manuscript independent of the *vita*. This raises questions. When were the two works bound together? And is it possible to posit a context to account for this union of these two works which, in spite of their shared Dominican authorships and content, are quite different in nature and intent?

The *vita* and the *De predicacione crucis* were bound together by 1369. An inventory of the books in the papal palace at Avignon ordered by Cardinal Philip de Cabassole and published in 1369 recorded, *Item tractatus de predicacione sancte crucis et vita sancti Thome de Aquino, coopertus corio albo, qui incipit in secundo corundello primi folii: 'tu in quo', et finit in ultimo corundello penultimi folii: 'doctorem'*.⁷ Francisco Ehrle, who published this and other inventories of papal collections, concluded, on the basis of the dedication of the *vita* to Pierre Roger, that the whole volume comprising both works had belonged to Pierre Roger and that on his elevation to the pontifical throne as Pope Clement VI (1342–52), the volume became part of the papal library.⁸ These assumptions have gone unquestioned. Anneliese Maier went on to posit, without any new evidence, that the volume came into the papal library either at Clement's accession or at his death.⁹ Despite evidence to the contrary, the view of Ehrle and Maier that the *vita* and the *De predicacione crucis* comprised a single codex owned by Clement VI has much to recommend it. There is no doubt that Vat. lat. 3847 reflects his most consuming interests both as a Paris theologian and as pope. He was an ardent humanistic bibliophile, and many of the

⁷ F. Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1890), p. 308 n. 292.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 308 n. 113.

⁹ A. Maier, 'Der Widerruf der "Articuli Parisiensis" (1277) im Jahr 1325', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 38 (1968), 14 n. 4.

books which he owned have been identified.¹⁰ He had a special enthusiasm for the writings of St Thomas,¹¹ and as Clement VI, he showed energy in advancing the papal crusade agenda particularly with the successful campaign against Smyrna.¹² He also loved to preach and orate on most topics, both spiritual and profane¹³ and, according to reliable witnesses, did so brilliantly. A continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, for instance, praised him as a 'man of uncommon eloquence'.¹⁴ In 1334, Roger, as archbishop of Rouen, persuaded Pope John XXII to give the leadership of the anticipated crusade to Philip VI of France. Roger's preaching, which took place in public consistory at Avignon, was impressive. Matteo Villani states that the archbishop preached 'un bello e alto sermone sopra la materia del santo passaggio, e confortato il sommo pontefice, e' prelati di santa Chiesa, e tutto il popolo cristiano'.¹⁵ Later, as pope, he would go on to preach ardently and persuasively for his own crusading enterprises.¹⁶ Vat. lat. 3847 reflects these interests and is, therefore, precisely the sort of book that we would expect Roger/Clément VI to have owned and read. With this in mind, then, one further possibility concerning the binding together of the two works may be canvassed. Clement VI may have owned the Vatican text of the *De predicacione crucis* as a separate manuscript work. I suspect that he did. At some point, however, either at his own behest or after his death in 1352, albeit before the volume was itemized in the inventory of 1369, the work was bound with the *vita* which Gui had presented to him.

There is another, related, problem. The inventories studied by Ehrle suggest that a version or versions of Humbert's tract, having no link at all with Gui's *vita* of St Thomas, and manuscripts of other tracts on crusade preaching, which may not have been Humbert's work, were deposited in the papal library before Clement's pontificate, indeed before the period of the Avignonese papacy. In the recension of 1295 of the papal library of Boniface VIII a work on preaching the cross is listed and this has been

¹⁰ D. Wood, *Clement VI. The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 207–8.

¹¹ M. H. Laurent, 'Pierre Roger et Thomas D'Aquin', *Revue Thomiste* 36 (1931), 157–73.

¹² N. J. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986), *passim*; see especially appendix 1 'The Cost of Clement VI's Contribution to the Smyrna Crusade, 1343–1349', pp. 301–2.

¹³ G. Mollat, 'L'Oeuvre oratoire de Clément VI', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 3 (1928), 239–74; P. Schmitz, 'Les Sermons et discours de Clément VI O.S.B.', *Revue Bénédictine* 41 (1929), 15–34.

¹⁴ See Mollat, 'L'Oeuvre oratoire de Clément VI', p. 239, 'ultra modum communem hominem eloquentem'.

¹⁵ Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, 7.2, vol. III (Florence, 1825, repr. Rome, 1980), p. 217.

¹⁶ For these sermons, see Mollat, 'L'Oeuvre oratoire de Clément VI', 254–5, items 57, 61.

ascribed to Humbert.¹⁷ The recension of 1311 of Boniface's library contains yet another notice of a crusade preaching document. This is unascrbed.¹⁸ It must also be noted that the inventory of 1369, which records Vat. lat. 3847, contained notices of several additional works on crusade preaching. They are described tersely: 'Item parvus liber de predicacione crucis, coopertus postibus sine pelle, qui incipit in secundo folio: "Is", et finit in penultimo folio: "ignoranciam"',¹⁹ 'Item liber de predicacione crucis, coopertus pergamento, qui incipit in secundo folio: "factum", et finit in penultimo folio: "illuc"',²⁰ and 'Item opusculum de predicacione crucis, coopertum pergamento sine postibus, quod incipit in secundo folio: "nos", et finit in penultimo folio: "est".'²¹ In short, in 1369 the combined holdings of the libraries of Boniface VIII and of the Avignonese popes contained numerous manuscripts concerned with preaching the crusade. It is not now possible to say if any of these bore a textual relationship to the version of Humbert's tract preserved in Vat. lat. 3847. They may all have been longer or shorter or virtually identical versions of Humbert's work, or they may have been unrelated works by different authors, unidentified, treating the same subject. Nevertheless, where Humbert's *De predicacione crucis* is concerned, the variations in length of these entries are suggestive: by 1369 there may have been among the papal collections recensions of his tract which were of different lengths. In my preparation of a critical text of the *De predicacione crucis*, I have used the version in Vat. lat. 3847 as my base text. Its date is unknown, but it does have the advantage of being the earliest known version. Comparison with other manuscript versions, however, has revealed some startling differences. The Vatican text comprises, loosely, four major sections: a preface in which Humbert outlines his purpose in writing his tract, an extensive treatment of the theological, juridical, ethical and social reasons why people should go on crusade or at least lend their support to it, a comprehensive list of 142 biblical *themata* for preachers to use in their sermons, and the tract concludes with Baldric of Dol's reconstruction or perhaps better, his *imitatio* of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont.

¹⁷ Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, vol. II (addenda et emendanda) Collegit Augustus Pelzer (Vatican, 1947), p. 14 no. 218: 'It. (Humberti de Romanis O. Pr.) lib. de predicacione crucis contra Saracenos.'

¹⁸ Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae*, vol. I, p. 54 no. 253: 'Item predicationes crucis contra Saracenos, scriptas de bona nota in cartis edinis, et incipiunt in secundo folio: "ior tertia videlicet", et finiunt in penultimo: "ad salutem et ni.", et sunt in tabulis cohoptis de corio rubeo cum duobus clausoriis.'

¹⁹ Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae*, vol. I, p. 406 no. 1631. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 407 no. 1646.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 425 no. 1952. In his note on this item, Ehrle refers the reader to item 292, that is to Vat. lat. 3847, for comparison.

Study of the manuscripts reveals that there were two versions, short and long, of the *De predicacione crucis* in circulation in the fifteenth century. Thus far, my work suggests that the long version is represented by a fifteenth-century manuscript in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 19423, ff. 87r–126v. This manuscript contains all of the materials mentioned above, but it also provides the text of a section omitted in the Vatican version. In this section, Humbert is addressing the issue of the benefits obtained by those who undertake the warfare of God. His point is to emphasize that God's just war must not be thought of in terms which are appropriate only to the unjust wars of men. Three privileges, he says, accrue to the army of the living God, and he examines these in numbered order. The first, *prima (prerogativa)* is God's blessing. His army is neither cursed nor excommunicated.²² In the Vatican text, however, the next privilege is *tercia*, the promise of 'heavenly reward', *premium celeste*.²³ The second privilege is omitted. The Madrid manuscript provides the missing text. And it is interesting. Humbert emphasized that the army of God enjoys the 'society of the angels', *societas angelica*, and he develops his thought at some length, evoking the Syrian attack upon Dothan (2 Rg. 6, 8–17) and the fall of Jericho (Joshua 5, 13–15). In both contexts, the Israelite cause is demonstrated to have been advanced by the intervention of divine warriors. At Dothan, Humbert interprets the horses, chariots and warriors seen by Elisha as the 'army of angels' (*Quod de exercitu angelorum exponitur*). At Jericho, the armed warrior who appeared to Joshua was 'an angel in the guise of a man' (*id est angelum in specie viri*). Humbert concludes his exposition on angelic warriors with its application to the army of crusade:

From these two histories we realize that in those ancient armies of the faithful, the angels joined against the infidels as companions, as leaders, as helpers and as teachers in the wars. If that is true about those armies then how much more should we believe this about the Christian army fighting for Christ crucified.²⁴

The Madrid manuscript then continues with the *tercia privilegia*. Its text of this is virtually identical with that in the Vatican manuscript. More striking, perhaps, are the discrepancies between the longer recensions of the Madrid and Vatican manuscripts and the version in the manuscript

²² Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 2r: 'Prima surgit ex benedictione divina. Non enim est maledictus vel excommunicatus sicut quidam alii set benedictus.'

²³ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 2r: 'Tercia surgit ex remuneracione excellenti [sic] que est premium celeste.'

²⁴ Madrid, MS Biblioteca Nacional 19423 fol. 88v: 'Ex quibus duabus hystoriis colligitur quod in illis exercitibus antiquis fidelium contra infideles adiungebant se angeli et ut socii et ut duces et ut adiutores et ut doctores in bellis. Quod si verum est de illis tunc temporis quanto magis credendum est de exercitu christiano pro Christo crucifixo pugnante.'

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Palatinus) 4239, ff. 169–87 (hereafter O). This manuscript is dated 1433. It includes the *secunda privilegia*, but when compared with the Madrid and Vatican recensions, its text is distinguished generally by a significantly large number of variants and omissions. These omissions take two forms. First, single words and phrases are omitted but the effect of these omissions upon the tract's meaning is minimal. Secondly, and more important, are those omissions whose combined impact is radical and throw into question the intention behind this particular recension. Three examples will demonstrate this point. In the Vatican recension, Humbert talks about the salvatory benefits of indulgences granted to crusaders. This is important material for persuading people to take the cross, and his argument is lengthy and carefully couched in a series of nicely balanced, wholly intelligible rhetorical contrasts. The indulgence confers upon crusaders its saving efficacy. Those who do not take the cross and therefore do not obtain the indulgence will fall into the devil's power and be damned:

How miserable and unfortunate they are and will be who, at the hour of their death, find the pit of hell open, heaven closed, demons coming to meet them and carry them off, and no saint to help them. How fortunate, by contrast, will be those who, at the hour of their death, will find the pit closed to them, heaven open, the demons fleeing and the saints helping.²⁵

In O this material on the indulgence is omitted. Omitted also are the biblical *themata* found in both the Vatican and Madrid manuscripts. Even more striking is O's total neglect of Humbert's inclusion of a bulk of legendary and exemplary material of the sort that had become the staple of popular preaching by the later thirteenth century. In the Vatican text this material fills the space from the bottom of fol. 18v through to fol. 24r and is rubricated *De necessariis predicatoribus crucis*. Humbert manifestly spent time selecting his material for its lively appropriateness, and through the sensible use of rubrics he made it readily accessible for reference by the preachers who might need it. Thus, all of the stories of Constantine, St Helena, Charlemagne, Roland, miracles of the cross which have occurred at crucial points in Christian history, and narrative accounts of the achievements of the first crusaders have been omitted in O. The Vatican rubrics, 'ex historia ecclesiastica libro xi, ex historia Anglorum quam scripsit Beda, ex

²⁵ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 10r: 'Quam miseri et infelices sunt et erunt qui hora mortis baratrum apertum invenient, celum clausum, demones accurrentes et rapientes, sanctorum neminem assistentem. Quam felices econtra erunt qui baratrum sibi clausum invenient hora mortis, celum apertum, demones fugientes, sanctos assistentes.'

cronicis et historia quam scripsit Gregorius Turonensis, ex speculo ecclesie Augustini, ex dyalogo Gregorii, ex gestis Karoli in Hispania contra saracenos que scripsit Turpinus Remensis archiepiscopus, ex libro Calixte pape de miraculis beati Iacobi, ex historia Antiochena quam scripsit Fulcherius Carnotensis, ex historia cuius auctor superaddit historie predicte [Raymond of Aguilers], ex historia transmarina quam scripsit magister Iacobus Vitriacensis postea episcopus Tusculanus, ex diversis legendis sanctorum' (Helena, Andrew, Peter, the exaltation of the cross, Martin, Longinus, Philip, Bernard, Mary Magdalene, Marie of Oignies), demonstrate the far-ranging nature of the material. At the same time, they are an accurate reflection of the sorts of texts which Humbert thought necessary to a properly stocked Dominican library.²⁶

Finally, O omits the text of Urban II's Clermont sermon. By Humbert's own evidence in the *Opus tripartitum*, this sermon was an original, integral part of the *De predicacione crucis*.²⁷ It was not a later interpolation. The Vatican rubric indicates that Humbert used the text preserved by Baldric of Dol in his *Historia Ierosolimitana*,²⁸ and comparison of Humbert's copy with the critical version in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*²⁹ reveals that the whole of Baldric's text is here. There are textual variants, but none are of major import with respect to altering the meaning.

Until there is a critical edition of the *De predicacione crucis*, it is premature to pronounce definitively upon the version of Humbert's work contained in the O manuscript. But, a few tentative observations seem appropriate. First, O, by virtue of the mass of material omitted, could certainly claim status as a short version. Whether it is a unique version or, more likely, whether it represents a discrete manuscript tradition is now too early to say. Both are possible. Secondly, when the short tracts on crusade preaching itemized in the papal inventory of 1369 (*parvus liber de predicacione crucis, opusculum de predicacione crucis*) are considered, it is tempting to speculate that one or more may have been a manuscript or manuscripts of the short version of Humbert's tract as it appears in O. Finally, O, I would suggest, transmits,

²⁶ See P. Zutshi and R. Ombres, 'The Dominicans in Cambridge 1238-1538', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 60 (1990), 320.

²⁷ For Humbert's statement, see K. Michel, *Das 'Opus Tripartitum' des Humbertus de Romanis*, O. P. *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kreuzzugs-idee und der kirchlichen Unionsbewegungen* (Graz, 1926), p. 14: 'Et nota, quod inter omnia, quae Urbanus Papa inseruit in sermone, quem fecit apud Claromontem in prima crucis signatione, qui est insertus in fine opusculi de Cruce contra Saracenos praedicanda [Michel's italics], fuit hoc praecipuum.'

²⁸ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 25r: 'Sermo Urbani pape in consilio [sic] Claromontensi ad succurrendum terre sancte quando primo incepit crucis assumptio sed quod narrat Baldricus archiepiscopus Dolensis in historia quam scripsit de captione Antiochie et Iherusalem.'

²⁹ *RHC Oc.*, 4, 12-16.

in effect, a version of Humbert's work which has a rather different complexion from that of the Vatican and Madrid manuscripts. Humbert was writing a text to assist preachers to persuade people to take the cross against the Saracens. In his preface, he states that the tract is devised to serve three groups of crusade preachers, those who are not yet experienced, those who are more experienced but who would still benefit from the extra material provided by the tract, and finally, those of uncommon ability who might use the material to give finer, better crafted sermons.³⁰ In short, Humbert compiled the tract with an eye to necessity, comprehensiveness and inclusion. The omission in this recension of so much of what might be termed basic preaching aids, namely the crucially important list of biblical *themata* and the extensive body of legends, moral *exempla*, and historical narratives diminishes therefore the value of this recension as a fair representation of Humbert's original purpose to aid crusade preachers.

Nonetheless, the *De predicacione crucis* is not simply a preaching or 'instructional manual for friars charged with preaching the crusade'.³¹ It is, in fact, more like an omnibus, a reference collection of ideas and information about crusading up to his own day. And, it expresses Humbert's own vision of the holy war. The tract is bulky, but its crusade focus lends its diverse materials unity. At one point Humbert observes, 'Finally, it is necessary for them [preachers of the cross] to have knowledge of the things that pertain to the business [of crusade]'.³² What is significant here is Humbert's emphasis upon his mission to teach the preachers about the meaning and significance of the crusade. Again, the question arises concerning the character of the short recension in O. Does it transmit an accurate impression of Humbert's thinking about the nature and purpose of crusading? And does it permit an adequate appreciation of the sheer labour of effort which he must have devoted to shaping the *De predicacione crucis*?

O omits the biblical *themata*. This reduces immediately, I have noted, the general usefulness of the tract for preachers who might need some handy biblical texts as starting points for sermons. But, there is another aspect that is lost, and this pertains to the function of biblical texts in sustaining the ideas which underpinned crusading. The Vatican manuscript provides 142 texts. Of these 103 are drawn from the Old Testament and 39 from the

³⁰ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 1r: 'ut predicatorum crucis nondum in tali predicacione exercitati materiam inueniant hic huiusmodi exercitii. Qui vero magis sufficientes sunt data sibi occasione plura et meliora superaddant. Alii vero qui in predicacione habent gratiam ex[c]ellentem ex materia rudi sibi preparata tanquam prudentes artifices opus pulchrius et magis formatum producant.'

³¹ E. T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*, Studies and Texts, vol. 67 (Toronto 1984), p. 8.

³² Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 18v: 'Postremo est istis necessariis sciencia de pertinentibus ad negocium.'

New. The texts are set out in canonical order for ease of reference. The Old Testament *themata* direct attention to the wars of the Israelites and of the Maccabees. The emphases are compelling: the return to the Promised Land, the ubiquitousness of infidel enemies, justified, because divinely mandated, wars of vengeance, the triumph of Israel through tribulation, and the heroic brand of leadership and faith shown by the Maccabees in defence of Jerusalem and the Temple.³³ Most of the books of the Old Testament are represented, although a disproportionate weight of seventeen *themata* is given to the books of Maccabees. The New Testament texts tend to stress Christian discipleship, and especially the duty to suffer for Christ and follow him to the cross. The texts from the Apocalypse underline the glorious reward that awaits these faithful followers.

Lists of biblical texts can make for dull reading. When considered outside the context of a sermon, they appear not to be saying very much, and the impatient modern reader is tempted to pass on. But, this would be to miss what might be termed a biblical dynamic which establishes links with forceful implications between biblical and crusading contexts. Close reading reveals that for some of the texts at least Humbert was doing considerably more than merely supplying convenient references. And O, in omitting this material, is not a fair representation of Humbert's intention in the tract because it does not transmit adequately what Humbert wished preachers to understand about crusade.

What is at issue here are not so much the *themata* themselves, but their glosses and rubrics. The rubrics fall into two categories. First, there are the rubrics which give the texts a sense of organized presentation and even of emphasis. These are found in Munich, Clm 26810 and not in the Vatican manuscript. Thus, after the *thema* from Judith 4 [13–14], Clm 26810 reads *De thematibus sumptis de libris Iob pastoris et libris Salomonis*. Again, after Zechariah 9[8], the books of Maccabees and the New Testament texts are marked off by *De libris Machabeorum et de novo testamento themata*. Then there are the directives to the preacher which are appended to some of the texts. These occur in both the Vatican manuscript and in Clm 26810, although not always with reference to the same texts. Expressed variously as *Nota precedencia et sequencia*, *Nota precedencia*, or *Respice sequencia*, they appear to be directing the preacher beyond the specific text to a wider biblical context, although whether this means that he is to consider the

³³ For the medieval fascination with the Maccabees, see the important article by J. Dunbabin, 'The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *SCH Subsidia* 4, *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford, 1985), pp. 31–41.

previous and/or following text in the list, or the broader implications of the texts within their biblical contexts is unclear. What is certain is that where these instructive rubrics do occur, the preacher is being directed to exert himself and develop his thinking about the *thema* by referring to other biblical texts which, in Humbert's view, were usefully related. Finally, and most important, there are the glosses. These are interesting because, where they occur, Humbert has in mind a particular emphasis that he deemed important to advance the invitation to crusade.

The subjects of these glosses are the defence of the church, Muhammad, infidels, the Saracens, and Christian soldiering. Humbert, for instance, glosses the city of Keilah (1 Kings 23: 1–2) whose defence the Lord mandated to David, as the church,³⁴ and again he sees the action of Wisdom (Proverbs 9, 1–3) in setting her handmaidens to cry out from the city as one of defending the church.³⁵ More numerous, however, are the glosses pertaining to Muhammad and his followers. These are, without exception, disparaging. The 'dark mountain' in Isaiah 13: 2–3 is 'Muhammad with his followers',³⁶ Christians are the 'assistants of God (1 Cor. 3: 9) that is to say, against the Saracens'.³⁷ In a reference to the devil's wiles (Ephesians 6: 10–11), Muhammad is perceived as his agent,³⁸ and is also numbered among the 'lying teachers' of 2 Peter 2: 1, a text used by Humbert in his model sermon *Contra hereticos*.³⁹ Finally, the Saracens are the 'contemporary Antichrists' prophesied in 1 John 2: 18.⁴⁰ In addition to these glosses are those which refer pointedly to infidels (Jeremiah 51: 27)⁴¹ and to the obligation of Christ's soldiers and servants to obedience (Matthew 8: 9).⁴²

³⁴ Clm 26810 fol. 207r: 'Et ait Dominus ad David: "Vade et percute Phyliteos et salvabis Eeilam", scilicet ecclesiam.'

³⁵ Clm 26810 fol. 208v: 'Misit ancillas suas ut vocaverunt ad arcem et ad menia civitatis scilicet ecclesie defendende.'

³⁶ Clm 26810 fol. 209v: 'Super montem calignosum, scilicet Machometum cum suis, levate signum et exaltate vocem.'

³⁷ Clm 26810 fol. 212v: 'Dei adiutores sumus. Ad cor III, scilicet contra Sarracenos.'

³⁸ Clm 26810 fol. 212v: 'ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli factas per Machometum.' This gloss is not found in Vat. lat. 3847.

³⁹ Clm 26810 fol. 213r: 'Erunt magistri mendaces qui introducent sectas perdicionis et quorum unus fuit Machometus.' For the text of the model sermon, see C. T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology. Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 222–7. For 2 Peter 2, 1, see p. 224.

⁴⁰ Clm 26810 fol. 213r: 'Et sicut audivistis quia Antichristus veniet nunc Antichristi facti sunt multi scilicet Sarraceni.'

⁴¹ Clm 26810 fol. 211r. Babylon is glossed, 'Et nota quod per Babylonem signatur multitudo infidelium.'

⁴² Clm 26810 fol. 212r: 'Et ego homo sub potestate constitutus habens sub me milites et dico huic, "Vade", et vadit; et alio "Veni", et venit, et servo meo, "Fac hoc", et facit. *Quanto magis hec debent facere milites et servi Christi*' (emphasis added).

Humbert's glosses concerning Muhammad and Islam are nothing if not candid. Reflecting single-minded intractable hostility, they seem, at first sight, to exceed the limits of rational exegesis. Nevertheless, reference to Humbert's depiction of Islam within the wider context of the *De predicatione crucis* shows that these glosses were integral to the tract as a whole, particularly with respect to Humbert's concept of the Christian-Islamic confrontation and crusade. This conflict was, Humbert believed, driven by theologically irreconcilable issues, notably the Saracen obstinacy in rejecting the divinity of Christ and the central Christian mystery of the crucifixion.⁴³ Humbert castigates them as 'consummately culpable', exhibiting no redeeming qualities whatsoever.⁴⁴ For 660 years they have been attacking the cross, persecuting Christians, and decapitating all those who would persuade them of their theological error.⁴⁵ Ironically, in light of the use which he makes of the Bible to affirm Saracen vileness, Humbert draws upon the Bible's silence about Saracens to deny the possibility of their conversion and the potential usefulness of their lives to Christians.⁴⁶ As he did in his glosses, Humbert vilifies Muhammad as lawgiver and spiritual leader. Like any worldly overlord, Muhammad, Humbert insists, asserts his leadership through the sword.⁴⁷ There is, however, no denying the Prophet's enduring charismatic power. The idol of Muhammad, he declares, has been standing for more than 600 years, longer than the idol of the calf,⁴⁸ and his followers are more formidable in their hostility to Christ than were the ministers of Baal.⁴⁹ In a burst of rhetorical anger, Humbert asserts that what Muhammad and his image merit is gross violation:

And although one might read many other iniquitous things about his life, nevertheless these two alone ought to satisfy every human heart, that the man, and after his death his image should be pelted with excrement.⁵⁰

⁴³ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 3r: 'Sarraceni vero pessimi licet in multis concordent nobiscum de pertinentibus ad laudem Christi tamen non intelligentes crucis misterium . . . nolunt credere quod Dei filius fuerit crucifixus.'

⁴⁴ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 1v: 'Gens enim Sarracena contra quam dirigitur summe culpabilis est contra totam Christianitatem.'

⁴⁵ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 5r: 'Sarraceni vero decapitant omnes qui vellent eos movere de errore suo dimittendo.'

⁴⁶ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 5r: 'De conversione vero Sarracenorum nulla scriptura loquitur nec nos iuvat eorum vita.'

⁴⁷ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 5v: 'domini mundi compellunt suos ad sequendum se. Machometus etiam per gladium compulit homines ad sequelam sui'.

⁴⁸ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 6v: 'Gravior est contumelia de erectione ydoli Machometi contra eum que iam duravit plusquam de annis quam de erectione vitulini ydoli que paucis diebus duravit.'

⁴⁹ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 6v: 'qui serviunt magis sunt contrarii Christo . . . quam ministri Baal'.

⁵⁰ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 6v: 'Et quamvis alia multa nephanda de vita eius legantur tamen hec duo solum deberent sufficere omni cordi humano ad eum viventem et ymaginem suam post mortem de stercoribus lapidandam.'

Humbert's vituperation is then directed against Muhammad's law as it is found in the Qur'an. This writing reflects and is a product of his sexual degeneracy, serving principally to sanctify concubinage and polygamy. It is for the most part dishonest. It is innately offensive to any thinking person.⁵¹ Its claim to divine inspiration is fraudulent since, unlike the Mosaic and Christian laws, there are no affirming miracles associated with its promulgation.⁵² Saracen law, as Humbert is quick to point out, is the 'exceedingly vile'⁵³ contrivance of the 'son of the devil' (*filius dyaboli*).

Humbert's vilification of Muhammad, the Qur'an and Islamic theology as it pertained to Christ's crucifixion is based upon topics and language which, by the middle of the thirteenth century, were wholly conventional.⁵⁴ Yet, in saying this, one must be careful not to undervalue this anti-Islamic material as merely marginal to Humbert's didactic purpose. Humbert, as has been noted, wrote in order to teach crusade preachers about aspects of the crusade. By his own evidence, 'knowledge about the origin and life of Muhammad', his law,⁵⁵ and 'about the advance of Muhammad and his followers against us and of our people against them up to the present time'⁵⁶ was essential for crusade preachers. Undoubtedly, some of the preachers, the more scholarly or historically minded, were familiar with the substance of Humbert's attacks. But, as Humbert indicates, he was writing to provide a useful compendium for all manner of preachers, and, in this, he clearly proceeded without making too many easy assumptions. The anti-Islamic materials, however commonplace they may now seem, were not assumed by him to be the common knowledge of all crusade preachers. With that characteristically thorough approach evinced in all of his writings, Humbert did the necessary research, going through his available sources

⁵¹ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 7r: 'multa continet inhonesta. Concedit enim homini plures uxores et concubinas quotquot voluerit et poterit sustinere et alia multa que humana ratio detestatur'.

⁵² Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 7r: 'Item ad sciendum quod lex Moysi suo tempore et lex Christi essent a Deo utram Deus innumeris miraculis confirmavit. Iste vero filius dyaboli hoc non potuit facere ad suam legem confirmandam.'

⁵³ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 6v: 'Verum Sarracenicæ lex est vilissima.'

⁵⁴ See, for instance, P. J. Cole, "'O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance'" (Ps. 78.1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 84-111. J. Bray, 'The Mohammedan and Idolatry', in *Persecution and Toleration*, ed. W. J. Sheils, *SCH* 21 (Oxford, 1984), pp. 89-98 has written usefully on the topic. I cannot, however, agree with her assertion (p. 97) that 'the Moslem was increasingly replaced as the enemy of the Church by the heretics, against whom crusades had been declared since the end of the twelfth century'.

⁵⁵ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 18v: 'Item sciencia de origine et vita Machometi quia contra eum et contra legem suam oportet multociens loqui.'

⁵⁶ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 18v: 'Item sciencia de processu Machometi et suorum contra nos et nostrorum contra ipsos usque hodie.'

and culling from them evidence which would accommodate the hostile views of the Saracen enemy which were so crucial to advancing both his didactic purpose and the cause of crusading. These sources included the Bible and the relevant glosses. They illustrated that Islam, a non-biblical belief, could be condemned not only through profane histories, but also through exegesis, that is, through the authority of the Bible. Manuscripts such as O, therefore, which exclude the biblical *themata* and the glosses, present the historian with a quite different, indeed a pallid facsimile of Humbert's serious purpose of teaching preachers about crusade, and specifically about the enemy, Muhammad and his Saracen followers.

Similar reservations concerning authenticity apply to the Clermont sermon. O's omission of the text of the sermon is consistent with the attenuated character of the recension in general. This is not to say, however, that all the manuscripts included what is after all a text of substantial length. As has been noted, the Vatican and Madrid recensions include the complete text. So, too, do the fifteenth-century codices Vienna, Dominikanerkloster (codex Dominicanorum Vindobonensis 37[38]) and Melk 1799. There are, however, a significant number of recensions which, like O, omitted the sermon: Salzburg, St Peter b. VIII. 29, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18383, and Klosterneuburg 382. Then, there are manuscripts, such as Harvard University Library, Riant 80, fol. 200v, and Clm 26810 fol. 177r which list the sermon in a table of contents, but omit the text.⁵⁷

In the *Opus tripartitum* Humbert did not say why he had included the Clermont sermon in the *De predicatione crucis*.⁵⁸ It is perhaps possible that it was intended to serve preachers as a model sermon. Comparison, however, with his extant model sermons indicates immediately that the Clermont sermon conforms neither to the model-sermon construct of the later thirteenth century nor to Humbert's own uncommonly attenuated style of model sermon composition.⁵⁹ True, the Clermont sermon had the singular distinction of having launched an unquestionably victorious crusade, but, in light of the profound changes which had occurred in preaching and sermon composition, and presumably in people's expectations of preachers since the end of the eleventh century, it is inconceivable that Humbert would have advanced Pope Urban II's rhetoric and conceits as fruitful material for crusade preachers in the 1260s. We must therefore seek possible explanations beyond its specific usefulness as a practical aid for preaching.

⁵⁷ Harvard University Library, MS Riant 80, fol. 200v: 'Sermo Urbani pape in prima crucis signacione'; Clm 26810 fol. 177r reads: 'Sermo Urbani pape in prima de crucis predicatione', but a line has been drawn through this.

⁵⁸ See above n. 27. ⁵⁹ See Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 210–29.

One approach is to consider if the sermon relates in any significant way to other material in the *De predicacione crucis*. Humbert, as has been indicated, composed his tract with a broad purpose in mind, namely, to educate preachers of the cross on matters pertaining to the crusade they were to preach and discuss usefully in more informal conversations.⁶⁰ We have seen already with reference to Islam and Muhammad that he set out his evidence with a view to providing an explanation of the Christian-Muslim conflict that would both outrage Christian sensibilities and at the same time accommodate the requirements of what, after all, is the central matter of the tract, the divinely ordained, justified and sanctifying war of crusade. But Humbert's vision of crusade, and it might be said, his thinking about the motives of crusaders and ideals of crusading, were shaped to a very large extent by what he read about the First Crusade. He alludes to Saladin's incursions – there is no mention of his capture of Jerusalem – and the crusade of Emperor Frederick I, Philip Augustus and Richard I,⁶¹ but it is the first expedition, or rather, the narratives of it, which captured his imaginative zeal.

In the First Crusade Humbert had little difficulty in discerning the quintessence of crusading heroism, religious fervour and divine intervention. Drawing upon an impressive array of narrative sources including Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Antiochena*, whose authority, Humbert states, derives from its eye-witness perspective,⁶² Jacques de Vitry's *Historia transmarina*,⁶³ William of Tyre,⁶⁴ and possibly Raymond of Aguilers,⁶⁵ Humbert transmits a synopsis of this crusade which focuses upon the siege and capture of Antioch, not Jerusalem, as the unrivalled staging ground of sanctifying divine interventions. It is from the narratives of this crusade that Godfrey of Bouillon emerges in Humbert's vision as the unsurpassed Christian hero, Peter the Hermit the divinely inspired instigator, and

⁶⁰ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 18v: 'Item sciencia narrandi que interdum utile est narrari in sermonibus vel collacionibus familiaribus ad edificacionem.'

⁶¹ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 9r: 'Item circa annum Domini m.c.lxxviii presidente Clemente III cum Saladinus terras acquisisset [sic] et iam fere omnes recuperasset [sic] procurante predicto papa cruce signati sunt Fredericus imperator et rex Francie Phillippus [sic] et rex Anglie Ricardus et alii innumerabiles per quos Acon et alia loca multa recuperata sunt.'

⁶² Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 21v: 'Ex historia Antiochena quam scripsit Fulcherius Carnotensis de hiis quibus interfuit.'

⁶³ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 22v: 'Ex historia transmarina quam scripsit magister Iacobus Vitriacensis postea episcopus Tusculanus.'

⁶⁴ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 9r: 'quidam archiepiscopus Tyrensis'. Normally, Humbert is scrupulous in identifying his references. His silence, therefore, about William's name and the title of his history may suggest that his knowledge of William came through indirect or secondary sources.

⁶⁵ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 22r: 'Ex historia Antiochena cuius auctor superaddit historie predictae.' The 'historie predictae' refers to Fulcher of Chartres's history. The details which treat the discovery of the holy lance at Antioch are strikingly similar to those provided by Raymond of Aguilers.

Urban II the pope who, at Peter's urging, harnessed his papal authority to sacred rhetoric and in a sermon of unrivalled effectiveness moved countless numbers of the faithful to take the cross. With hindsight, Humbert looks upon that age as one of simple but vigorous faith. In a section rubricated *De primaria inventione cruce signacionis*, he underlines the zealous devotion of both Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban II. He commends the pope as a *vir zelator Christianitatis* who 'among the many other good things which he preached, decried the desolation of the Holy Land, and stirring up everyone to its aid, organized things so that those who wished to help could receive the sign of the cross'.⁶⁶ Christian men and women of all ages and from every social class, lay and ecclesiastic, responded in faith. 'It was', Humbert observes, 'a time of enormous devotion for taking the cross and a time when there was tremendous signing of people with the cross.'⁶⁷ In the *duodecima invitacio* to take the cross, which follows this section, and is, notably, omitted in O, he again underlines the singular impacts of Peter the Hermit's exhortations and of Urban's Clermont sermon. 'Now look, *karissimi*, you see that the pope was moved by the word of one man. The church was moved by the pope and there was, as you have heard, extensive signing of people with the cross throughout all of our Christendom.'⁶⁸ There can be little doubt that Humbert approved of this. The age of the First Crusade was, he implies, a continuation of the glorious heroic age of Charlemagne.⁶⁹ 'Now, however', he continues, 'the pope sends a cardinal. And he sends countless nuncios. And countless letters of indulgences and privileges of inestimable usefulness are sent.'⁷⁰ What Humbert is outlining here is a highly organized, complex and busy system for recruitment in which the modern pope, unlike Urban II, does not preach personally to the faithful, but acts indirectly through ecclesiastical officials and documents. Humbert accepted this, of course, but his words with respect to this system have a flatness, a lack of fervour. Times had changed, he knew, since 1095-6,

⁶⁶ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 5v: 'In ipso autem tanquam vir zelator Christianitatis inter alia multa bona que proposuit exposuit desolacionem terre sancte ad subcidium [sic] animans universos et ordinans quod qui vellent succurrere acciperent signum crucis.'

⁶⁷ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 5v: 'Tunc temporis tanta fuit ad crucem accipiendam devocio et tanta cruce signacio.'

⁶⁸ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 6r: 'Ecce karissimi videtis quod ad verbum unius hominis conmotus est papa. Comota est et per eum ecclesia et tanta cruce signacio facta est in tota Christianitate nostra ut audistis.'

⁶⁹ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 9r: 'Porro ad inopugnandum Sarracenos relinquerunt nobis precedentes viri illustres magna exempla et fortia et quam plurima.' Humbert's evidence for this derived from the letter of Turpin, *ibid.*: 'sicut plenius continetur in epistula Tarpini archiepiscopi quam scripsit de gestis illis que propriis oculis vidit'.

⁷⁰ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 6r: 'Nunc autem papa mittit cardinalem. Mittit et innumerabiles nuncios. Mituntur et litere innumerabiles cum indulgentiis et privilegiis inestimabilis utilitatis.'

when charismatic preaching and popular devotion had combined to galvanize the church, produce Christian heroes, and in a thoroughly Christian war distinguished by extreme privation and miraculous signs, restore the Holy Land to Catholic Christian domination.

In the course of his synopsis of the First Crusade, he returns often to the Clermont sermon. We have seen that he linked the momentous preaching occasion to Peter the Hermit's inspired initiative. Nevertheless, he did not, apparently, deem the sermon to be of secondary importance to Peter's less formal, unofficial exhortations to people 'great and small',⁷¹ and he evidently thought that preachers should have some knowledge of it. Under the general rubric *De necessariis predicatoribus crucis* Humbert draws upon Fulcher of Chartres to provide preachers with this. Comparison with Fulcher's text shows, however, that what Humbert offers is an attenuated, selective account of what, according to Fulcher, Urban preached.⁷² Applying his working criterion of what was necessary for preachers, Humbert stripped away much that was topical to the eastern crisis of 1095 but had little relevance to conditions in the 1260s. Thus, he omits Urban's description of the extent of Turkish incursions into Byzantine territory, the unspecific terms of the indulgence, references to the Peace of God initiative, and the projected time of the expedition's departure. What was relevant to Humbert's purpose, as he states, was the core of the papal exhortation to take the cross (*verba Urbani invitantis ad crucem*) where, in a series of crisply worded rhetorical imperatives, Urban impressed upon the faithful their moral obligation to defend their faith. To this end, he demonized the Turkish enemy, denouncing them as 'infidel' and the 'degenerate handmaiden of demons'. Christian failure to act against such an enemy was pitched as an outrage against God, and God, Urban declared, would reproach his faithful for their inertia. The papal mandates follow. What is immediately striking is the extent to which they express succinctly ideas about crusade and motives for taking the cross which Humbert himself elaborates throughout his tract:

Therefore now let them advance in battle against infidels who were fighting outrageously against the faithful. Now let them be soldiers who once were plunderers. Now let those who once fought against their brothers fight against the barbarians. Now let those who fought as mercenaries for a few coins win eternal rewards. Now

⁷¹ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 5v: 'Quo facto predictus Petrus per multas partes discurrens sollicitavit multos magnos et parvos ad subcidium [*sic*] terre sancte.'

⁷² Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 21v: 'Verba Urbani pape invitantis ad crucem in concilio Claromontensi hec sunt.' For Fulcher's complete text see his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 132–8.

let those who exhaust themselves to the detriment of both body and soul strive for double honour.⁷³

The crusade was fought against infidels and not against Christians, crusaders were not brigands and could expect for their efforts spiritual rewards. Humbert clearly saw in these fundamental ideas and concepts the basis of the crusade's appeal and its innate merit. They had been enunciated to miraculous effect by Urban II at Clermont, and Humbert thought them essential components in the invitation to take the cross in his own day. As historical forces, too, they underpinned what he perceived to be the continuum of Christian warfare against Islam right up to his own time.⁷⁴

In his *De predicacione crucis* Humbert of Romans presented the fruits of his researches into crusading. And he discovered that the very best expression of the religious ideals and achievements of crusading were to be found in the narratives of the organization, inspiration and achievements of the First Crusade. Very much of what he says is now, due in large part to the work of Jonathan Riley-Smith, familiar to historians of the crusade.⁷⁵ But, it cannot be stressed too often, I think, that in the 1260s preachers of the cross were not all students of crusading and were perceived, at least by Humbert, to be in need of a solid grounding in the complex subject which they were to preach. The First Crusade had been an unreserved military success and the preaching that had launched the expedition was naturally of considerable interest and afforded Humbert many invaluable paradigms for his preachers, and through them, for the lay faithful. Not the least of these was the Clermont sermon. Excerpts from this taken from Fulcher of Chartres, and then, a complete text taken from Baldric of Dol's narrative were integral to Humbert's combined didactic purpose and historical interests. The resulting work, the *De predicacione crucis*, became, and was undoubtedly intended to be, considerably more than a mere preaching manual. It was and is an important historical text which transmits not a tedious pastiche of excerpts but an interpretation of the First Crusade and of the Clermont sermon to inform, indeed, to inspire Dominican preachers, and probably others too, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. Fifteenth-century manuscripts of the work, such as O, which omitted the Clermont sermon

⁷³ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 21v: 'Procedant ergo nunc contra infideles ad pugnam qui abusive contra fideles certabant. Nunc sint milites qui dudum erant raptore. Nunc contra barbaros pugnent qui olim contra fratres pugnabant. Nunc eterna premia lucentur qui dudum pro paucis solidis mercenarii fuerunt. Nunc pro honore duplici laborent qui pro detrimento corporis et anime se fatigant.'

⁷⁴ Vat. lat. 3847 fol. 9r: 'et ex tunc usque hodie non cessaverunt conflictus inter nos et Sarracenos.'

⁷⁵ See especially J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986).

altogether, both the *verba* provided by Fulcher as well as the complete text from Baldric of Dol's narrative, represent a short version. This is a version, however, which historians must now view with caution because it transmits an incomplete, even a distorted sense of Humbert's original purpose, of his role as a thirteenth-century historian of crusading, and of his tract as an important text for the transmission of crusade history, ideas and ideals.

CHAPTER II

Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading

H. E. J. Cowdrey

Few would disagree that the experience of the crusades had profound and indelible effects upon the views of western Christians about the morality of warfare and, indeed, upon the character and culture of western Christianity itself. The purpose of this essay is to explore some aspects of this experience, and particularly to consider the effects of and interplay between ideas of holy and just war. It will be suggested that these ideas were, in the genesis and early stages of the crusade, separate but that, by the end of the first century of the crusading period, they were being drawn together in an association that has in many respects persisted until modern times.

It may be well first to attempt, however roughly, a definition of the terms holy war and just war and to point out some of the differences between them. Holy war belongs to the sphere of religion and of the transcendent. It is warfare undertaken according to the purposes of God and with his self-effecting blessing: in answer to urgent prayer to him, God by a judgement that is sure if unsearchable in wisdom and unequivocal in its decisiveness settles which side in a conflict is just and righteous. The crucial test is conformity to God's will and the reward is the palm of victory – for the slain, maybe, in the form of martyrdom. In return for such divine favour, it behoves those who fight entirely to conform their motives in fighting to the precepts of the gospel. They should above all follow the law of charity, and they should temper justice with clemency. They should eschew all self-seeking and desire for revenge. Thus, for the Christian warrior, warfare could become an imitation of Christ in his victory upon the cross. Belonging in such ways to the sphere of religion, holy war was sponsored if not initiated by clergy, including popes and bishops. In so far as it was directed by kings or lay princes, the sacral aspect of their rulership was brought strongly into play.

Just war belongs much more to the legal and even secular sphere.¹ It is warranted not primarily as implementing the judgement and purposes of God but is to be appraised according to the humanly defined and declared end for which it is fought. Account must be taken of the necessity and appropriateness of the means by which it is waged. A just war is prosecuted according to human laws. It is undertaken at the command of a legitimate earthly ruler or authority for a defined and limited objective which there must be an obligation to secure while other means than force are not sufficient. Those who fight do so for a due temporal reward rather than for the benefits of sanctification. This having been said, the notion of a just war can be invoked in more ways than one so far as the purpose of warfare is concerned. It may serve to limit more nearly total forms of military action to a minimum that is necessary; or it may be proclaimed in order to raise the level of military response to what is regarded as being appropriate for a campaign that is envisaged.

Another difference between the terms holy and just war as used by historians of the crusading period must be noticed. Holy war was not, as such, a current phrase during the time of major crusades to the east, even though the past provided abundant examples and models for imitation and inspiration. The Old Testament was the major source, especially the Pentateuch, the books of the judges and early kings of Israel especially David, and the Maccabees, and much of the language of the Psalms. Outside the Bible, such an event as the Emperor Constantine's vision of the *labarum* before a successful battle, with the divine promise, 'Constantine, in this sign conquer', was a well-known example of how God looks from heaven and gives victory in battle. But there was no such phrase in current use as *bellum sacrum*. Just war (*bellum iustum*), by contrast, while not evocative of any such fund of biblical and historical material as the models for holy war, was a phrase used in the ancient world by both pagan and Christian authors, for both of whom it was rooted in the institutional and legal actualities of the Greek and Roman world. It was there to be discovered by medieval inquirers as and when their outlook and needs might make it useful. The student of medieval warfare needs to know where it was to be found. It may be convenient to notice just a few of the principal places.

Most significant of classical Latin authors was Cicero. In his *De republica* he insisted that wars undertaken without due cause were unjust; the purpose of just wars was to avenge an injury or to repel an enemy, so that they must be

¹ The best overall study of the just war during the period covered in this essay is F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975).

properly declared and waged and must seek the recovery of things lost (*rebus repetitis*) or the defence of lands and rights.² Among Christian authors, Isidore of Seville was content to follow classical guidelines, quoting from Cicero.³ The most creative and influential of ancient Christian authors who wrote on the subject of war, Augustine of Hippo, complemented classical views of the just war by offering justification of warfare that was rooted in the 'holy wars' of the Old Testament. His remarks on the subject of war are spread widely through his voluminous writings, but his most extensive discussions are in his *Contra Faustum Manicheum* and *De civitate Dei*;⁴ his most succinct definition, from his *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum liber*, was that just wars were those that avenged injuries, that is, unlawful acts.⁵ The first of these three works was designed to defend the Old Testament God, patriarchs and institutions against detractors who set the Old and the New Testaments in stark contrast; Augustine therefore upheld the justice of Old Testament forms of warfare. Moreover, he wrote against the background of an empire threatened with external attack and of a church that, especially in the Donatists, faced problems within that seemed to impose the necessity of coercion.

If Augustine is rightly perceived to have been critically important for Christian thought about the just war, it must be remembered that his treatment of it was unsystematic and developing; it was not crystallized into a definitive scheme.⁶ Furthermore, because Augustine drew both upon a classical and Roman tradition of just war and upon a very different biblical tradition of 'holy war', when in aftertimes men looked back to him as an authority, they could select passages and discussions that suited their very different latter-day purposes, whether of just or of holy wars as they conceived them. And medieval authors who were minded to propound 'holy war' were the better able to call upon Augustine because, not very long after his time, he was credited with the authorship of the fragmentary letter *Gravi de pugna*. In it, a doubting warrior was urged to stand to

² Cicero, *De republica*, 3.23.34–6, ed. and trans. C. W. Keyes (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 210–23; see also *De officiis*, 1.11.35–6, ed. and trans. W. Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), pp. 36–9.

³ *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 18.1.1–3, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), unpaginated: 'Iustum bellum est quod ex praedicto geritur de rebus repetitis aut propulsandorum hostium causa.'

⁴ Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 22.70, 74–9, ed. J. Zycha, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* [hereafter CSEL] (Vienna, 1866–), 25: 666–8, 671–82; *De civitate Dei*, 19.7, 12–13, 21, ed. E. Hoffman, CSEL 40/2: 383–4, 390–7, 409–10.

⁵ 'Iusta autem bella definiri solent quae ulciscuntur iniurias': *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum liber*, 6.10, *PL* 34: 781.

⁶ See esp. R. A. Markus, 'Saint Augustine's Views on the "Just War"', in *The Church and War*, ed. W. J. Shiels, *SCH* 20 (n.p., 1983), pp. 1–15.

arms and betake himself to earnest prayer; for when battle is joined, with the heavens opened God looks down, and to the side that he sees to be just (*iustum*) he awards the victor's palm.⁷ No text about 'holy war' was more often cited in early medieval times, and this pseudo-Augustinian epitome of its rationale gave its colour to genuine passages of Augustine and other ancient fathers that accompanied it. Thus, in the summer of 1085 when Bishop Bonizo of Sutri answered his friend's inquiry, 'Has it been, or is it, permitted for a Christian to contend with arms for right belief (*pro dogmate*)?', the first authority that he cited was *Gravi de pugna*; other, genuine texts from Augustine, Jerome and Pope Gregory the Great were then marshalled to show that such warfare was sanctioned by God and pleasing to him. According to Augustine, Christ in his sermon on the mount declared equally blessed those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake and those who for the same reason inflict it; Jerome had asserted that cruelty on God's behalf was not impiety (*non est impietas pro Deo crudelitas*).⁸ Moreover, Augustine's concern to vindicate against the Manicheans the morality of Old Testament warfare of and for God made him seem to be a proponent of 'holy war'. Thus, while historians rightly look upon Augustine, in particular, as a source for later ideas of just war, his writings, genuine as well as apocryphal, also did much to shape medieval ideas of 'holy war'.

The vitality of the tradition of 'holy war' in the period between Carolingian times and the crusades is well known; attacks by such enemies as the Vikings, the Magyars and the Muslims called for such a tradition to motivate resistance amongst western peoples. Popes as well as kings were its sponsors.⁹ Perhaps most famously of all before Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), Pope Leo IX (1049–54) was believed to have proclaimed to be martyrs those who died in his army against the Normans which suffered defeat at their hands in 1053 at Civitate. Bonizo of Sutri commented that 'As for those who had been struck down in the battle when fighting for righteousness (*pro iustitia*), God has shown by signs and miracles that they have been well pleasing to him, thus giving great confidence in fighting for righteousness

⁷ 'Gravi de pugna conquereris: dubites nolo, utile tibi tuisque dabo consilium: arripe manibus arma, oratio aures pulset Auctoris; quia quando pugnatur, Deus apertis coelis prospectat, et partem quam inspicit iustam, ibi dat palmam': Pseudo-Augustine, *Ep.* 13, *PL* 33: 1098.

⁸ Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, books 1 and 9, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Libelli de lite* 1: 571, 618–19. For the other texts referred to, see Augustine, *Ep.* 185.2.9–11, ed. A. Goldbacher, *CSEL* 57: 7–10; Jerome, *Ep.* 109.3, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 55: 354.

⁹ Among many discussions, see esp. C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 20–127; J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris, 1999), pp. 119–38; and *La Guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001), esp. pp. 29–99.

to those who come after when he has deigned to reckon them in the number of the saints.¹⁰ The planned or actual campaigns of Gregory VII inside and beyond Latin Christendom enhanced this tradition. The ideas that accompanied them are brought into focus by his devoted follower Bishop Anselm II of Lucca (1073–86). Since he was the most incisive writer on the morality of warfare in the immediately pre-crusading years, it is worth dwelling a little upon him.

Anselm's most important work was the *Collectio canonum* upon which he was working in the early 1080s; especially important for the present study are its final books, 12 *De excommunicatione*, and 13 *De vindicta*.¹¹ It is well to read them in a context set by two of Anselm's occasional writings. The first is the sermon *De caritate* which dates from the last months of his life.¹² Anselm concluded it with an impassioned appeal to the duty of compelling the recalcitrant to conform to the purposes of the Creator and of the church. 'For the shepherds of the church should place no temporal advantage, the dread of no one, and the transient love of no one, before the salvation of souls, but alike through the vigour of the priestly office and through the compulsion of faithful princes (*per principum fidelium fortitudinem*) they should most resolutely bring back the wanderers to the Lord's fold.' The Old Testament prefigured and warranted such reliance upon the well-directed force of secular princes.

But we do not grant to them [princes] a liberty of raging or plundering or living unjustly; rather, we set against the impiety of those who crucify on their own account the True One and who make a public show of the Son of God (cf. Heb. 6.6) such princes' desire for a holy intention, thus restraining raging on the one side by clemency on the other. And just as Moses the lawgiver by divine inspiration allowed to the people of God an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and so forth (Exod. 21.23–4) to repress the ungodliness of the peoples, so we will and applaud that princes should exercise punishment (*vindicta*) against the enemies of the truth according to zeal, to a purpose of divine love, and to the duty of godliness.¹³

It would be hard to imagine a more cogent presentation of the duty and the ethic of 'holy war' as warfare which has its origin and sanction not in

¹⁰ Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, books 5 and 9, pp. 589, 620.

¹¹ The printed edition of Anselm's collection, *Anselmi episcopi Lucensis Collectio canonum una cum collectione minore*, ed. F. Thaner (Innsbruck, 1906–15), did not include books 12 and 13. For a transcription of the last book, see E. Pásztor, 'Lotta per le investiture e "ius belli": la posizione di Anselmo di Lucca', in *Sant'Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture*, ed. P. Golinelli (Bologna, 1987), pp. 375–421, with text at pp. 405–21. For the sources of the texts in books 12 and 13, see K. G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 179–200. There is a good discussion of Anselm and coercion at pp. 122–41.

¹² E. Pásztor, 'Motivi dell'ecclesiologia di Anselmo di Lucca in margine a un sermone inedito', *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 77 (1965), 45–104; text at pp. 96–104.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 103–4.

the purposes and judgement of men but in the providence and oversight of God.

A second document, a letter which Anselm wrote at about the same time to William, duke of Normandy and king of England, took a similar view, but in terms of victories won and prosperity enjoyed. He praised William's strong deeds and excellent execution of what he had done. But these were effected not by but through him, and were the work of the God who called for a proper moral response to his granting of strength in battle.

This therefore I warn, this I urge, most illustrious king, lest in any of your works you should wish ever to presume upon yourself or that your heart should be raised up, having trust in your own strength; instead you should ascribe all your hope and glorying to him who has at once ministered victory to you from heaven, adorned you with a multitude of peoples, and exalted you with a wealth of riches.

Such divine bounty must be repaid:

You do not bear the sword in vain, for you are the minister of God to the punishment of the evil (*ad vindictam malorum*) but to the praise of the good (cf. Rom. 13: 4; 1 Pet. 2: 14). Acknowledge, therefore, by discharging it the stewardship entrusted to you by God and fulfil your ministry to his glory and praise (cf. 2 Tim. 4: 5).

This was to be done forthwith by bringing military help to the Roman church in the straits into which it fell during Pope Gregory VII's final months, strongly trusting in the faith of Peter which Christ had prayed would never fail (Luke 22: 32) and that the Roman church would possess this faith unshaken to the end.¹⁴ William was being called to a warfare which was wholly determined by the providence, will and purposes of God.

In his treatment in his canonical collection of punishment and coercion, Anselm was manifestly concerned to propagate and so far as possible to warrant from ancient authorities an ethic which was consonant with the demands of his sermon and letter with their distinctive approach to warfare.¹⁵ Citing *Gravi de pugna*, Anselm insisted that prayer to God was a duty for one about to fight (ch. 5), while victory should likewise be anticipated, for, Anselm cited from Pope Gregory the Great, 'your glory descends

¹⁴ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, 1: *Die Hildesheimer Briefe*, no. 1, in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. C. Erdmann and N. Fickermann, MGH *Die Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit* 5: 15–17. As an example of the ethic of war as presented by late eleventh-century churchmen to kings, it is instructive to compare Berengar of Tours's letter of c. 1072 to King Philip I of France: *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, 3: *Briefe Berengars von Tours*, no. 82, in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. Erdmann and Fickermann, pp. 132–6, in which *Gravi de pugna* is prominently cited.

¹⁵ References in the body of this paragraph are to the chapters of book 13 as in Pásztor, 'Lotta per le investiture'.

not from earthly counsel but from God who bestows it from above' (ch. 29).¹⁶ Anselm opened the book by excerpting Augustine's *Contra Faustum* to claim that Moses did nothing cruel when, at the Lord's command, he slew certain men (ch. 1).¹⁷ Anselm was at especial pains to establish that the church could perform persecution (*persecutio*), i.e. could invoke force, including armed force, to restrain evil and compel virtue (chs. 14–17). Indeed, there was a duty to resist the wicked on pain of complicity in their purposes (ch. 19). Motive was all-important; punishment should be inflicted in love, not in hate (ch. 2) and wars should be waged with goodwill (ch. 3). Punishment should be tempered, and an endeavour should be made to correct rather than to kill evil men (chs. 10, 12). If force must be deployed against sins, there should be mercy for the sinner (ch. 21). Under such conditions, those who fought might be righteous (*Quod militantes etiam possunt esse iusti et hostem deprimere necessitas non voluntas debet*) (ch. 4). Such was the morality of warfare as presented by a leading canonist of the Gregorian age.¹⁸

Along with these ideas as propounded by Anselm of Lucca, two further considerations may be noticed as bearing strongly upon appraisals of warfare on the eve of the crusades and into the crusading period. Both had deep roots in the Latin fathers and particularly Augustine. First, there was the consideration that killing and wounding in warfare are inherently sinful so that those who inflict them even in duly declared and justifiable warfare must perform tariffed penance for what they had done. Augustine had long ago written of an urge to harm (*nocendi cupiditas*) and a lust to dominate (*libido dominandi*) that inevitably moved fallen human nature when violence was engaged in;¹⁹ the centuries of *Augustinisme politique* did nothing to mitigate this view. Hence the familiar evidence of the *Decretum* of Bishop Burchard of Worms (c. 1008/12) where penances were prescribed for fighting men,²⁰ and the penitential ordinance that followed the battle of Hastings in 1066.²¹

Gregory VII took up and developed this line of thought as part of his bid to improve the moral behaviour of Christians at his Roman synods of 1078–80.²² In November 1078, he referred to the knight as pursuing

¹⁶ *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum epistularum*, 1.73, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 140, 140A, 1: 81–2.

¹⁷ Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 22.79, pp. 680–1.

¹⁸ For a discussion of Pope Gregory VII's own view of warfare, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 650–8.

¹⁹ *Contra Faustum* 21.74, p. 672.

²⁰ Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* 6.23, 19.5, *PL* 140: 770–1, 952.

²¹ *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, 1: *A. D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, part 2: 1066–1204 (Oxford, 1981), no. 88, pp. 581–4.

²² See Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 507–13.

a profession which could not be engaged in without sin because it was always accompanied by the unjust seizure of others' goods and by hatred in the heart. In what may have been a new departure,²³ he spoke of the knight as one of three men in such a predicament of inevitable vocational sinfulness, the others being the merchant and the senior official of a king or lord.²⁴ True penance could, in principle, be performed only by desisting from their avocations.²⁵ In Lent 1080, with the same three avocations in mind, Gregory broadened and made more positive his moral approach. All sinners should return to God and abandon all their iniquities in order to retain the fruit of good works; Gregory cited the prophet Ezekiel: 'If the ungodly man shall turn from all his iniquities and shall keep all my commandments, he will surely live and not die' (Ezek. 18: 21). But the inevitable sinfulness of warfare, merchandise and officialdom nevertheless expressly remained.²⁶ Hence, in his sermon, Anselm of Lucca could dwell upon the need in warfare to curtail the liberty of raging or plundering or living unjustly.²⁷

The subject of Anselm's sermon was charity. It raises the second consideration that was affecting church attitudes to warfare; it tended to temper, mitigate and even offset the first. As Anselm well knew, Augustine had enjoined that, when coercion was inevitably used, it should be brought to bear with love and goodwill.²⁸ Thus exercised, it could be an occasion for growth in the sanctifying virtues of Christians living a life of grace. By means of it the warrior's will could be made perfect, and so rise above the sins that were endemic to his calling. Such a vision had been formed by the compilers of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, which originated in Mainz c. 960 and over the next hundred years permeated much of western Christendom. In an *Oratio pro exercitu* it provided a prayer that those who fought might have, in the Augustinian tradition, a right motive in fighting (*proeliandi recta voluntas*) and that in the hour of victory they should imitate Christ the model victor who by the humility of his passion triumphed on the cross

²³ There seems to be no certain appearance of the trilogy of knight, merchant and official before Gregory. The problem piece of evidence is the reference in the Pseudo-Augustinian tract *De vera et falsa penitentia* 15.50, *PL* 40.1125. Its date has not been established, save that it must be before its citation in Gratian's *Decretum* of c. 1140; dates from as early as the tenth century have been suggested. While an early date is possible, it is more likely that the tract reflects Gregory VII's synodal decrees and takes the trilogy from them.

²⁴ For Gregory's concern about senior officials by whose counsel crimes are perpetrated, see *Registrum* 5.14a, ed. E. Caspar, *MGH Epistolae selectae* 2 (Berlin, 1920-3), pp. 372-3.

²⁵ Gregory VII, *Reg.* 6.5b, p. 404. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.14a, pp. 481-2. ²⁷ See above, pp. 179-80.

²⁸ For example Augustine of Hippo, *De sermone Domini in monte* 1.20.64-5, *PL* 34: 1262-3; *Ep.* 138.12-13, CSEL 44: 137-8.

over death and the prince of death.²⁹ The prayer showed a way towards blamelessness in warfare. Gregory VII laid emphasis upon this theme of the imitation of Christ, for example in his summonses of 1074 to a campaign to relieve eastern Christians under Seljuk attack and persecution.³⁰ The theme should be considered in the light of the principles of true penance as Gregory was envisaging them by c. 1080: that the right motive of the individual was a touchstone of Christian morality, and that true penitence called for the confessing of all sins.³¹ Such principles tended to be especially in mind during the penitential preparation for battle.³² Perhaps no letter of Gregory VII more fully expresses his view of the sanctifying quality of warfare than one which he wrote in July 1080 to the south Italian bishops. They were to minister to the Norman troops who would cross the Adriatic under Duke Robert Guiscard to set on the Byzantine throne an emperor who was deemed to be the rightful eastern ruler:

as the duty of your office requires, you should most diligently warn them to perform proper penance, and to keep good faith towards their leaders as befits Christians. In all their deeds they should have before their eyes the fear and love of God, and they should persevere in good works. And thus, strengthened by the authority of ourself, or rather by the power of blessed Peter, absolve them from their sins.³³

By such a route, Gregory pointed out to warriors how, despite the moral dangers of their calling, they might nevertheless turn from them and attain salvation through warfare. But perhaps in the light of his acute sense of such dangers, he seems never to have taken the further step of speaking of salvation as being attainable by warfare.

As regards the preaching of the crusade at Clermont in 1095, two suggestions about its implications for the morality of warfare may now be made. First, Pope Urban II's address fell, or was perceived by those who wrote about it to have fallen, within the tradition of 'holy war' as already described. Thus, for example, Robert, monk of Reims, who was present, wrote of the unanimous cries of *Deus vult! Deus vult!* with which Urban's hearers acclaimed his words. This was no mere outburst of warrior exuberance or response of conventional piety; rather, it was rooted in a profound

²⁹ *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 3 vols., Studi e testi 226-7, 249 (Vatican City, 1963-72), 11: 380, no. 245.

³⁰ Esp. Gregory VII, *Reg.* 1.49, 2.31, 37, pp. 75-6, 165-8, 172-3.

³¹ See further H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII and the Bearing of Arms', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997) reprinted in H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), study III, pp. 21-35, esp. 23-4.

³² For example *Vita Anselmi episcopi Lucensis*, ch. 23, *MGHS* 12: 20.

³³ *Reg.* 8.6, p. 524.

confidence that, in the spirit of *Gravi de pugna*, God had, indeed, looked down from heaven and would make the crusaders' warfare his own. Thus, Robert the monk has Urban go on to say that, whenever they should join battle, on behalf of God (*ex parte Dei*) there should rise from all a single shout: *Deus vult! Deus vult!*³⁴ Second, it was probably a direct result of Urban's effectively fusing the ideas of 'holy war' and pilgrimage, thus making the crusade an unprecedented armed pilgrimage, that the belief became current that a warrior might by adopting the right dispositions find salvation not only through fighting but also by fighting. The climax of Urban's speech, according to Robert the monk, was an appeal in the name of Jerusalem to accomplish the freeing of the city. From the Franks, especially, much was expected, 'because there has been bestowed upon you by God before all peoples a famous glory in arms. Therefore seize upon this journey (*viam hanc*) in remission of your sins, sure of the unfading glory of the kingdom of heaven.'³⁵ The crusading canon of Clermont was entirely in line with this perception: 'Whoever for devotion alone (*pro sola devotione*), not for honour or gaining of money, shall set out to liberate the church of God at Jerusalem, that expedition (*iter illud*) will be reckoned to him for all penance.'³⁶

That was indeed, a major step forward; yet for the most part, the considerations about the morality of warfare that have been suggested as gathering force in the decades before 1095 and that helped directly or indirectly to nourish the tradition of 'holy war' remained remarkably tenacious through the twelfth century. The sequence of great papal crusading bulls from Eugenius III's *Quantum praecedessores* (1146) through Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi* (1187) to Innocent III's *Quia maior* (1213)³⁷ provides evidence for the continuing vitality of the notion of 'holy war'. Also of remarkable persistence was Pope Gregory VII's trilogy of avocations that could not be pursued without incurring grave sin – those of the warrior, the merchant, and the steward or official. There was an element of the fortuitous in this. Remarkably few texts of Gregory VII found their way into the western canonical tradition; the principal exception was the relevant decree of Gregory's November synod of 1078³⁸ which presented his pessimistic view

³⁴ Robert the monk, *Historia Hierosolimitana* 1.2, RHC Oc. 3: 729. ³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *The Councils of Urban II*, 1: *Decreta Clavomontensia*, ed. R. Somerville (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 74.

³⁷ *Quantum praedecessores*: P. Rassow *apud* E. Caspar, 'Die Kreuzzugsbullen Eugens III,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 45 (1924), 301–5. *Audita tremendi*: M. Salloch, *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 82–5. *Quia maior*: G. Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III* (Weimar, 1928), pp. 88–97.

³⁸ Reg. 6.5b, p. 404.

of warfare in its starkest form.³⁹ It passed into the *De penitentia* of Gratian of Bologna which was incorporated in his *Decretum*.⁴⁰ Moreover, in the late 1150s, Peter Lombard cited it in his principal work, his *Sentences*.⁴¹ A little later, Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter still cited it (from Gratian) in his Penitential.⁴² Gregory's trilogy seems to have answered, not only to the doubts of canonists and teachers in the schools, but also to the continuing perceptions of old-fashioned hagiographers who were not much affected by changing notions of penance. *The Life of Godric*, hermit of Finchale (died 1170), by Reginald, prior of Durham, shows in fascinating detail how, with the best will in the world, Godric had been unable not to feel himself involved in the evils inevitably attaching to his successive careers as merchant and steward: anxiety and guilt impelled him to pilgrimages and then to an austere life as a hermit.⁴³ In such a way, Gregory VII's three suspect avocations were seen to be vitiated by *malitia*; there would be a check upon any positive moral appraisal of secular warfare so long as this view remained.

The stigmatization of warfare as *malitia* which was prolonged by the reception of Gregory VII's decree of 1078 into canon law had, however, as an important consequence the throwing into greater relief of those kinds of warfare that were favoured by the church as, by contrast, *militia* – the acceptable and salutary warfare (or service) of St Peter and of Christ. The development extends from the prayer of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical which saw in battle an opportunity for the imitation of Christ in the victory of his passion, through Gregory VII's emphasis upon motive and call to a *militia sancti Petri/Christi*, to the decree of Clermont with its requirement that those who joined the crusade should do so *pro sola devotione* and, quintessentially, to St Bernard's 'praise of the new warfare'.⁴⁴ Bernard addressed the Knights Templar who combined the roles and the dedication of knights and of monks: 'Therefore press forward with an easy mind', he urged them, 'and with a stout heart drive away the enemies of the cross of

³⁹ See further Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII and the Bearing of Arms', pp. 25–6.

⁴⁰ *De penitentia* D.5, c.6, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, Editio Lipsiensis secunda, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81), I: 1241.

⁴¹ *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distributae*, 4.16.3, 2 vols. (2nd edn, Grottaferrata, 1971–81), II: 339–40.

⁴² Chapter 30, in A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: a Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 198.

⁴³ *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremita de Finchale*, chs. 2.11, 4.14–6.21, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society 20 (London, 1847), pp. 24–5, 27–36. For further comment on Godric, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Some Types of English Pilgrim', in *Piacenza e i pellegrinaggi lungo la Via Francigena* (Piacenza, 1999), pp. 201–9, at pp. 205–6.

⁴⁴ *De laude novae militiae*, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), III: 205–39.

Christ, certain that neither death nor life can separate you from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus.⁴⁵ In *Audita tremendi*, Pope Gregory VIII would address to all Christians who could fight a similar call to total and untroubled service, charging them to receive with thanksgiving a time of penitence and well-doing, giving both their own and themselves because they had nothing of themselves.⁴⁶

If the approach to warfare as 'holy war' which pre-dated the emergence of concern with the just war as defined at the beginning of this paper was so strong and persistent, it must be asked when and how a clear concept of the just war emerged. It is questionable whether any eleventh-century source clearly and positively formulated it. Two writers are especially significant. Writing in the mid-1080s, Manegold of Lautenbach provided a rare example of a citation of an Augustinian passage that includes the term *iustum bellum*: a war was just when waged on account of sin; and Manegold noted Augustine's view that just wars should be waged with the intention of restoring peace.⁴⁷ But Manegold did not develop the idea of just war, and his reference was made in a chapter concerning the characteristically eleventh-century topic of whether those who slew excommunicates not in remedying private wrongs but in defence of the church should undergo penance or punishment as homicides.⁴⁸ Anselm of Lucca seems never to have used the term *iustum bellum*, and as has been suggested above, his thinking remained within the parameters of 'holy war'. But, like Manegold, he prepared the way for the just war by assembling, especially in his canon law collection, ancient texts that had relevance for the just war, and Anselm's unprecedented concern with *vindicta* (punishment) further prepared the way by its focusing on the intrinsic quality of human actions.

It was with Gratian's *Decretum* of c. 1140 that extended and systematic consideration of the just war began. Besides other, incidental references, Gratian devoted the whole of his Pars 2, Causa 23 to it, formulating eight *quaestiones*.⁴⁹ Gratian cited Isidore of Seville's definition of the just war with its Ciceronian overtones and gave his own definition in similar terms.⁵⁰ He also cited Augustine's brief definition, that just wars avenge *iniuriae*.⁵¹ There is little if any trace of the ideas of *Gravi de pugna*; for Gratian, war was

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁴⁶ Salloch, *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 1.20, 19.12, 25, vols. 40/1: 37-8, 40/2: 390, 400.

⁴⁸ Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebehardum liber*, ch. 38, ed. K. Francke, *MGH Libelli de lite* 1: 376-7.

⁴⁹ *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 889-950. For a discussion, see Russell, *The Just War*, pp. 55-85.

⁵⁰ See n. 3, above. ⁵¹ See n. 5, above; Gratian, Q. 2, in *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 604.

warranted by natural law which exists by natural instinct and is regulated by the law of nations.⁵² War was regulated by human judgement which sought rationally to vindicate the rule of law. As his authorities, Gratian deployed a full range of passages from Augustine and also from other Latin fathers. He settled some issues that had been long debated, as in his assertion that no knight was guilty of homicide who killed a man in obedience to the appropriate power.⁵³ A *quaestio* was devoted to the rightness of inflicting punishment.⁵⁴ In an important positive assertion, Gratian declared that a man was not only excusable but was full of righteousness when he defended his country (*patria*) from barbarians by means of war.⁵⁵ But the whole thrust of Gratian's discussion of the just war was towards the internal enemies of Christendom, indeed of Latin Christendom. He introduced it by setting upon the case of a group of heretical bishops who, supported by their flocks, were coercing others to adhere to their heresy; under papal direction, the Catholic bishops of the region who also held civil jurisdiction from the emperor were forcibly defending the orthodox and seeking to compel the heretics to abandon their heresy.⁵⁶ Gratian showed no trace of in any way envisaging the crusade which, by the time that he wrote, had four decades and more of history, nor is there evidence of any early impact of the *Decretum* upon crusading thought and practice.

When, then, and by what means did ideas of the just war begin to influence the crusade? There is no easy answer. They are probably evident in the *Chronicon* or *Historia Ierosolymitana* upon which Archbishop William of Tyre ceased to work in 1184.⁵⁷ William was born in the Holy Land which he acknowledged as his 'patria'.⁵⁸ Much of the warfare that he described was, therefore, not so much crusading warfare as the national warfare of the kingdom of Jerusalem embattled against surrounding Muslim principalities. But between c. 1146 and 1165, William was in the west. An autobiographical chapter of his *Chronicon* recounts that he not only studied theology in France but also ecclesiastical and civil law at Bologna. He appears to have given most of his attention to civil law; nevertheless, he is likely to have gained some knowledge of Gratian's *Decretum*.⁵⁹ Its influence may be suspected in William's occasional references to warfare

⁵² See, e.g., *Decretum*, Pars I, Dist. I, chs. 7, 9, in *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 2-3.

⁵³ Q. 5, ch. 13, in *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 935.

⁵⁴ Q. 4, in *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 899-928.

⁵⁵ Q. 3, ch. 5, in *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 897: 'Iustitia plenus sit qui patriam bello tuetur a barbaris.'

⁵⁶ *Corpus*, ed. Friedberg, 1: 889.

⁵⁷ *WT*.

⁵⁸ For William's career, see P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 13-22.

⁵⁹ The autobiographical chapter is *WT* 19.12, vol. 11: 879-82.

in the Christian east at a variety of dates as being undertaken to avenge injuries (*iniuriae*). Thus, for example, in face of the loss of Edessa and other alleged Turkish outrages, voices from the east sought western aid *ad tantarum ultionem iniuriarum*, while St Bernard summoned help *ad propulsandas fratrum iniurias oppressorum*.⁶⁰ Muslim leaders could act, from their point of view, in a comparable way: in 1164, Nur ad-Din besieged Harenc (Harim) *ad ulciscendam suam suorumque iniuriam*.⁶¹ But in 1171, the king of Jerusalem led an army from Ascalon against Saladin; his forces set out with one mind to avenge their wrongs (*iniurias suas ultum iri*).⁶² Writing of King Baldwin II's campaign of 1126 against Tughtigin, atabeg of Damascus, William could speak of both sides in comparable terms; the king urged the Christian army to avenge injuries (*divinam simul et suas ulcisci nituntur iniurias*), while the atabeg assured the Muslims that they were waging a just war (*iustum bellum gerere*) for their wives and children, and what is more for their liberty, and they strove with robbers for their native soil (*pro solo patrio*).⁶³ Such passages are too few in number, and the circulation of the *Chronicon* in the west in its Latin and French versions came too late,⁶⁴ for it to have been a major factor in disseminating ideas of the just war.⁶⁵ But it serves as one illustration amongst others of how, by the end of the twelfth century, various circles were finding it helpful to graft ideas connected with the just war into crusading traditions.

There is evidence of a matching development in the canon-law tradition. In the wake of Gratian, there was always a certain reluctance to take account of the crusade and, indeed, of any aspect of 'holy war'. But the so-called decretists who, in the later twelfth century, commented upon Gratian, began to take some account of the crusade along with their concern with the just war, especially after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 added urgency to the call to crusade in the west; the thirteenth-century decretalists whose concern was with later papal decretals had rather more to say about the crusade.⁶⁶ A good, fairly early canonist example is Huguccio of Pisa whose *Summa decretorum*, compiled between c. 1178 and 1201, has not been printed. Huguccio wished to provide a comprehensive legal justification of the church's right to wage wars, including wars to defend the Holy

⁶⁰ WT 16.18, vol. 11: 739-40. ⁶¹ WT 19.9, vol. 11: 874.

⁶² WT 21.21(22), vol. 11: 990. ⁶³ WT 13.18, vol. 1: 609.

⁶⁴ For its circulation, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 3-5, 24.

⁶⁵ For a stimulating discussion of William and the just war, to which this paragraph is indebted, see R. C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz. Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Stuttgart, 1977), esp. pp. 218-36. But the place of the just war as of 'tolerance' in William is perhaps overstated.

⁶⁶ For the decretists and decretalists, see Russell, *The Just War*, pp. 86-212.

Land against the Saracens who had improperly seized possession of a land rightfully belonging to Christians. He was determined that warfare against the Saracens should be a just war (*iustum bellum*) in which due regard should be paid to the *ius gentium*, for example in the manner of treating captives.⁶⁷ Crusading warfare was to be just warfare. Decretalists like Hostiensis (died 1271) would take such matters further.

The thinking of the theologians was developing by the end of the twelfth century along similar lines, with Gratian as a strong influence upon it.⁶⁸ Of particular importance was the school at Paris which centred upon Peter the Chanter.⁶⁹ One of its most distinguished members was Robert of Courson, both theologian and canonist, who in 1212 became cardinal-priest of S. Stefano in Monte Celio. He became a (none too successful) preacher of the crusade and died in 1219 before Damietta as papal legate to the Fifth Crusade. His *Summa*, which has not been printed, was composed between 1208 and 1212/13.⁷⁰ His remarks in it on the subject of war drew upon Gratian, not least in what he had to say about campaigns against the Saracens in the east. In effect, he was drawing together the theories of crusade and of just war. A war was just when undertaken to vindicate rights that were rooted in human law. It must be undertaken by legitimate authority, as when a prince acts by authority of the church. Thus, as regards the eastern crusade,

If a prince fights with the authority of the church against infidel enemies, as in the Holy Land for the liberation of an eastern region that was entirely converted by the apostolic preaching and so is rightly our inheritance, the region is licitly captured by him, because nothing is being taken from another but what is its own is being restored to the church; in this case, crusaders (*cruce signati*) meritoriously set out to defeat the enemies of the land of promise.⁷¹

While it cannot be claimed that a general view was emerging, by the time of Huguccio and Robert of Courson ideas of 'holy war' and of just war were beginning to interact; the interplay was a pointer to the future, although its still occasional and tentative character warns historians of the crusade

⁶⁷ See the discussion of Huguccio, with citations of his *Summa* in the footnotes, in Russell, *The Just War*, pp. 118–23.

⁶⁸ See Russell, *The Just War*, pp. 213–57.

⁶⁹ See esp. J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1970), and P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 98–141.

⁷⁰ For his career, see Baldwin, *Masters*, 1: 19–25.

⁷¹ See Baldwin, *Masters*, 1: 208–9, 11: 146–7, notes 23–5.

against making too much of the Augustinian concept of just war before or during the first century of crusading.

It may be worth noticing, however summarily, some of the reasons why, by the time of Pope Innocent III, the concept was becoming significant in relation to the crusades. First, and perhaps most important, was the diversification of the objectives of crusades. The First Crusade had been directed towards Jerusalem and against the Muslims who were seen as slaughtering and oppressing eastern Christians from Jerusalem to Constantinople. As time progressed, crusades were also summoned against the church's enemies in the Latin West, including groups seen as heretics. When Gratian compiled his *Decretum*, the opening *casus* of Causa 23 which instanced heretical bishops was remote from the crusade;⁷² by the thirteenth century it was far from being so. Gratian's view of the just war, and the Augustinian teaching about coercion which underlay it, had become manifestly relevant to the crusade. Second, by the end of the twelfth century knightly views of chivalry had matured.⁷³ They had both secular and religious sources, and at least in principle they set limits to the acceptable ends and means of warfare. Ecclesiastical teachings about the just war were a natural complement to the aspirations and restraints of chivalry. Third, as the thought of the Parisian masters who formed the circle of Peter the Chanter well illustrates,⁷⁴ social thought was deepening and maturing. A striking feature of it was a concern with the three avocations of official, warrior and merchant that Gregory VII had presented as incapable of being engaged in without falling into sin.⁷⁵ With much discussion and casuistry, their equal potential for both good and evil was established, along with the equal potential of a wider range of human activities. As the example of Robert of Courson suggests, the tradition of the just war as Gratian had revived it was now seen to apply to current warfare, including the crusade. The profound changes that took place during the twelfth century in the penitential teaching and practice of the western church, with far greater emphasis upon the individual and his inner formation and contrition, also assisted the emergence of a more nuanced and balanced view of lay duties and dispositions, including those of the knight.⁷⁶ Fourth, the great crusading pronouncements of Pope Innocent III, especially *Quia maior* and the crusading canon *Ad liberandam*

⁷² See above, pp. 186–7.

⁷³ I accept the chronology of the development of chivalry suggested by J. Flori, *L'Essor de la chevalerie, ix^e–xii^e siècles* (Geneva, 1986).

⁷⁴ See Baldwin, *Masters*.

⁷⁵ See esp. Baldwin, *Masters*, 1:175–98 (officials), 205–27 (knights), and 261–90 (merchants).

⁷⁶ For a discussion, see C. Vogel, *Le Pêcheur et la pénitence au moyen âge* (Paris, 1969), esp. pp. 15–36.

terram sanctam of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had the effect of making crusades not just the business of those who responded to the call to them by fighting but a function of the whole of Christian society.⁷⁷ All were drawn in – not only those who travelled and fought, but also all who stayed at home and prayed or gave alms. Universal involvement implied the general justification of crusades to clergy and laity at all levels who lived in a Christian society where institutions, laws and ethics were developing rapidly. ‘Holy war’ ideas remained prominent in the church’s preaching and in Christian sentiment. But these ideas needed to be tempered and ordered by such moral and legal considerations as those that the just war offered and disseminated.

For in the long term, the experience of the crusade suggests that neither ‘holy war’ nor just-war motivation can easily stand alone. The ‘holy war’ as officially proclaimed tended to demand a single-mindedness beyond the compass of most men. The call of Clermont to set out to liberate the church of Jerusalem ‘for devotion only’ (*pro sola devotione*), or St Bernard’s praise of the new warfare of the Templars, spoke of a single-mindedness and elevation of motive which very few fighting men are likely to sustain. Crusaders’ motives would be mixed and lower-key. A Cistercian abbot, Martin of Pairis, who preached a recruiting sermon at Basel at the time of the Fourth Crusade, recognized this when he not only took up the theme of the duty of restoring to Christ an inheritance in the Holy Land from which the ungodly had ejected him; he also promised to those who fought rewards both spiritual and temporal. They could look for an increase of their earthly fortune.⁷⁸ An appeal which realistically included such an inducement called for control in terms of just-war discipline lest the desire for spoils and material gains should unduly take over. But still less can the motivation of just war stand alone. As a concept it is politically valuable as a control upon how war is engaged in and prosecuted, and militarily valuable in the training and professional formation of those who fight in order to promote proper discipline and restraint when fighting. But very few soldiers indeed, crusaders or otherwise, at the time of engagement – ‘when

⁷⁷ *Quia maior*: Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz’ III*, pp. 88–97; *Ad liberandam: Concilium Lateranum IV*, can. 71, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al. (3rd edn, Bologna, 1973), pp. 267–71.

⁷⁸ ‘Nunc videte, fratres, quantas sit in hac peregrinatione securitas, in qua et de regno caelorum promissio certa est et de temporalis prosperitate spes amplior’: Gunther of Pairis, *Historia captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos*, chs. 2–3, *PL* 212: 226–8, citation from col. 228; on the sermon, see Cole, *The Preaching*, pp. 92–6.

the burning moment breaks, / And all things else are out of mind'⁷⁹ – think of the just war; their motivation is more elemental, whether in terms of their belief or of their instincts. They will be moved rather by invocation of 'holy war' or of 'crusade' themes.

The blending of 'holy war' and just war which can be observed by the end of the first century of crusading was thus no transitory phenomenon. It established a way of regarding war which has persisted until the present time and which was much in evidence in the wars of the twentieth century.

⁷⁹ From the poem 'Into Battle' by Julian Grenfell (1888–1915), in *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse 1891–1935*, ed. W. B. Yeats (Oxford, 1936), no. 260, pp. 291–2.

Holy war and holy men: Erdmann and the lives of the saints

John France

Carl Erdmann produced the single most influential study of the origins of the crusade. He believed that, as a response to the growing prominence and militarization of the European nobility, in the late-tenth and early eleventh centuries the church developed a positive view of military activity that was incorporated into the theology of the church and, ultimately, made possible the crusade. At the start of the eleventh century, Erdmann argued, 'the Augustinian doctrine, still in force, sharply distinguished offensive from defensive war'. He suggested that in the age of the Investiture Contest the church turned warfare into an ethical activity through the work of the theologians of violence, notably Anselm of Lucca.¹ Erdmann's ideas have been attacked of late. John Gilchrist produced a startling analysis of the ideas found in canon law. Jonathan Riley-Smith pointed, in particular, to the pragmatic attitude of the papacy towards violence, and questioned the influence of the theologians of violence and theorists of the reform papacy on the aristocracy and their attitudes.² But Erdmann's views have endured, largely because he is one of the few people to have written systematically about attitudes to war in the centuries before the crusade.³

I would like to thank the Leverhulme Foundation who awarded me a Fellowship for the year 1999–2000 and the British Academy for a travel grant for the same period. A great deal of the research upon which this paper is based was made possible by this support. This paper was given in a preliminary form to a conference at the University of Durham Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in April 2001.

¹ C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), p. 97.

² J. Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law', in *CS*, p. 37; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Erdmann and the Historiography of the Crusades, 1935–1995', in *La Primera Cruzada Novecientos Años después: El Concilio de Clermont y los Orígenes del Movimiento Cruzado*, ed. L. García-Guijarro Ramos (Madrid, 1998), pp. 17–29. See also M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993).

³ Even as good a book as F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975) jumps from Augustine to Gratian, while S. Windass, *Christianity versus Violence* (London, 1964) is mere polemic. It should be noted that Erdmann dedicated only the Introduction, pp. 3–34, to this period.

Erdmann was interested in definition and theology and the formulation of ideas about war. He was less interested in 'the ideas and impulses which operated on or near the level of consciousness' of medieval people.⁴ He was also very strongly influenced by his view of developments in the eleventh century and it was upon this that his analysis leaned most. However, his examination of evidence from before that date gave great authority to his views. This essay will deal with the development of attitudes towards war before the year 1000.⁵ It will be argued here that while Erdmann surveyed a good deal of material, he was selective and unduly rigid in his interpretation of this earlier evidence. More importantly, Erdmann only touched upon the lives of saints written before 1000. As a result of a substantial examination of this material and a careful understanding of the attitudes revealed within it, it is possible to argue that Erdmann failed to grasp that the church and churchmen had long accepted that war could have positive moral value.

Erdmann made very substantial use of canon law, and he pointed out that killing, even in a just war, remained murder and demanded substantial penance. That position is very evident in, for example, the eleventh-century law code of Burchard of Worms.⁶ But this argument ignored the very serious modifications in the church's formal position during the early medieval period. Carolingian penitentials made a very clear distinction between killing for private interest, and killing in 'public war' at the command of the approved authority, although both called for penance. The *Penitentiary of Bede* of the eighth century imposed a penance of four years on those guilty of murder for gain. But if the killing was vengeance for the murder of a brother the punishment was one full year and substantial periods in the following two years. In the case of killing 'in public warfare' the penance was only forty days. In the *Ecclesiastical Discipline* of Regino of Prüm, written c. 906, wilful murder incurred a penance of seven years, accidental killing five years, vengeance for a relative one year and forty-day periods in the following three. But for killing in war the penalty was only forty days.⁷

Beyond doubt, the principle that killing was murder was maintained in these penitentials, but the huge difference between the penances for private killing and those for killing in war was an effective modification

⁴ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 283.

⁵ For a treatment which focuses on the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while having a great deal that is valuable to say about the earlier period, see J. Flori, *La Guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001).

⁶ PL 140: 780-1; Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 16-17.

⁷ *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. J. T. McNeil and H. M. Gamer (New York, 1990), pp. 224, 317.

of the formal position. This distinction arose from the conditions and thinking embodied in the very notion of the 'just war' as it was developed by St Augustine. At the heart of the notion of the 'just war' is the idea that it must be fought on proper authority, and this reflected a deep concern for the maintenance of the social and political order that did not diminish in the early Middle Ages. Archbishop Hincmar of Reims was proud that he contributed troops to the armies of Charles the Bald because they supported the Christian monarchy. He was aware, as Janet Nelson has shown, of the contradiction between apostolic precept and the Carolingian practice of 'warrior bishops, abbots and abbesses who went to war behind the banners of their churches and kept their mail shirts in holy places'. He justified this in terms of the need to defend the 'state' which protected the church, particularly when it was suffering external attack. Erdmann rather ignored the testimony of the life of this great pillar of the Carolingian polity and attributed disproportionate importance to a letter he wrote to Charles the Bald complaining of the depredations of soldiers, a common enough theme amongst ecclesiastical writers.⁸

The anxiety of medieval churchmen about the need to support the social and political order is neatly summarized by the biographer of Bruno of Cologne:

If anyone who is ignorant of the divine dispensation objects to a bishop ruling the people and facing dangers of war and argues that he is responsible only for their souls, the answer is obvious: it is only by doing these things that the guardian and teacher of the faithful brings to them the rare gift of peace and saves them from the darkness in which there is no light.⁹

Now clearly Roger was aware of criticisms of Bruno's involvement in day-to-day politics and violence, and undoubtedly these were based on the prohibitions of clerical killing, in Carolingian theologians and elsewhere, of which Erdmann made so much. But this passage leaps from the page as expressing a very deeply held belief. Order and stability were vital to the practice of the Christian religion, and to the extent that war was waged to this end, so it was justified.¹⁰ Another aspect of this was evident at the time of the Norman conquest of England. After the battle of Hastings, Bishop Ermenfrid decreed that all soldiers in the Norman host had to perform penance, but those who had served Duke William as vassals were given

⁸ J. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), p. 58, and 'The Church's Military Service in the Ninth Century: a Contemporary Comparative View?', in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 117–32; Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 17–18; Hincmar, *De Coercendis Militum Rapinis*, PL 125: 953–6.

⁹ Ruotger, *Vita Sancti Brunonis, Coloniensis Archiepiscopi (953–65)*, PL 134: 937–77 or MGHS 4: 252–6.

¹⁰ Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 16–18.

a lesser penalty than those who had been his mercenaries. The vassal was part of the 'state' and had to do his duty to established authority, while the mercenary was a dangerous free agent.¹¹ War, under certain conditions at least, clearly had a moral value as the ultimate sanction of the Christian polity and this was really an old and deeply held conviction.

Erdmann made much of the *Gleichschaltung* of church and 'state' under the Carolingians which he saw as the path which in the long run forced the church to confront the problem of war. However, he pointed out that Hrabanus Maurus denied that obedience to a prince excused a man from penance for killing, and cited evidence that penitents should never again indulge in war. It is difficult to believe that anyone seriously adopted this latter position in the circumstances of an empire constantly at war, often against Christian enemies like the Lombards and Bavarians. Moreover, it is worth noting that Hrabanus produced an epitome of Vegetius's tract on war for his royal master.¹² Ansonus of Lobbes wrote a life of Abbot Erminius of Lobbes who died in 737, probably during the reign of Pepin III, and recorded with approval that the dead abbot had foretold the victories of Charles Martel over his rivals for power amongst the Franks, and the accession of Pepin III. We might dismiss these as dubious prophecies, but the approval of victory is unmistakeable and clearly attributed to divine intervention.¹³ Ambrose of Autpert served Pepin III and acted as tutor to Charlemagne. His biographer, who seems to have been a contemporary, records with approval that Ambrose accompanied Charlemagne to the siege of Benevento which capitulated on terms. Shortly afterwards Ambrose entered the abbey of St Vincent in Volturno, but there is no sense that this was a denial of his earlier activity.¹⁴ Ultimately, Erdmann never seems to have recognized how deeply churchmen felt the need to maintain the social and political order and how fundamental this was, and had been, from the time of Constantine the Great onwards in Christian thinking about the uses of violence.¹⁵

There can be no doubt that wars within the Christian community were judged by the clergy using Augustinian criteria. War against non-Christians,

¹¹ H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings', *JEH* 20 (1969), 225–42.

¹² Hrabanus Maurus, *De Procinctu Romanae Miliciae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 15 (1872), 443–51.

¹³ *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, ed. J. Bollandus and G. Henschenius, 2nd edn in 70 vols. (Brussels, 1863–1940) (hereafter *AS*), 12. April 25, 378–80; *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. L. d'Achery and D. J. Mabillon, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668–1701) (hereafter *ASOSB*), 3: 564–8.

¹⁴ *AS* 31. July 19, 649–51; *ASOSB* 3: 259–67.

¹⁵ Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 23–34.

however, was accepted by the church. Charlemagne pursued brutal war against the Saxons, yet took great pains to justify his conquest of his fellow-Christian, Duke Tassilo of the Bavarians. A little later Nithard was at pains to portray Charles the Bald as driven to battle against his elder brother at Fontenoy.¹⁶ This contrast underlines the point that wars against non-believers seem *ipso facto* to have been acceptable.

The enthusiasm of churchmen for the stability imposed by the Carolingian family was increased by their admiration for the expansion of Christianity into pagan Germany and beyond. Alcuin protested against the forced conversion of the Saxon people, but his attitude seems to have been quite exceptional. In Willibald's life of Boniface admiration for the Carolingian house and open advocacy of cooperation with them is patent and the presence of Carolingian armies is visibly regarded as a great asset in God's work.¹⁷ By the time of Charles the Great there was lavish praise for Carolingian arms, ready prayers for their success and very little concern with means. Erdmann seems to have been reluctant to recognize this. He knew that Gregory of Tours had been quite ready to advocate force against the Arian heretics in the sixth century and had celebrated their defeat with relish, but he saw this and later endorsements of the use of aggressive force against pagans as quite exceptional and unusual.¹⁸ But this is certainly not true. The life of the Anglo-Saxon missionary, St Lebuin, active in the 770s, portrays him preaching to the Saxons and threatening that unless they convert, 'there is ready a king in a neighbouring country who will invade your land, despoil and lay waste, will tire you out with his campaigns, scatter you in exile, dispossess or kill you'. It is important to recognize that this life was probably written a century after Lebuin's death.¹⁹ Bede the Lesser was one of a number of Germans who as children were given to the clergy to be educated. He served at the court of Charles the Bald, but about 875 entered a monastery. His biographer makes him openly praise the Carolingians because they imposed Christianity upon

¹⁶ *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1895), pp. 787–8; P. Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (London, 2000), p. 178 points to political and dynastic reasons that made Charles act very circumspectly in this matter; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 116–21.

¹⁷ *AS* 21, June 5. 453–65; *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi moguntini*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1905); *ASOSB* 3/2: 1–27.

¹⁸ Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 4, 11–12.

¹⁹ R. Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe from Paganism to Christianity, 371–1386* (London, 1998), p. 214 discusses the *Vita Lebuini* in *MGHS* 30, chapter 6, using the translation of C. H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (London, 1954), pp. 231–2. There is a consensus that this life was written in the mid-ninth century, on which I must thank P. Fouracre for his comments, *The Age of Charles Martel*, pp. 432–4.

pagan peoples. Carolingian kings were like Constantine, the life says, and 'were ever righteous and prepared to fight the Lord's wars'.²⁰ These were enduring attitudes to pagans, well-founded in Christian history, and they would have a long future. In the early eleventh century Bruno of Querfurt urged Henry II to conquer pagans in order to bring them the gift of the holy faith, and this attitude was shared by Thietmar of Merseburg whose famous chronicle is deeply approving of conversion of the pagans, and little concerned about the means by which this might be achieved. His contemporary, Rodulfus Glaber, was equally convinced of the righteousness of war against non-Christians, and even against Christians of the wrong stripe like the Byzantines.²¹ An awareness of the Muslims as an enemy is less evident in northern sources, though a recent study suggests that this was greater than we have thought. However, by about 900 the reconquest of Spain from the infidels had become a Christian duty for the remnants of the Visigothic régime there.²²

Violence, therefore, was not merely a means of preserving the social and political order, but also a way of extending the Christian religion. But the defence of the established order was always likely to be the ultimate priority. In the best of conditions church and 'state' desperately needed one another. In effect churchmen needed the support of the social elite whose society was everywhere pervaded by the warrior ethic.²³ In the particular conditions of the late-ninth and tenth centuries the political confusion attendant on the collapse of Carolingian rule opened the Catholic west to attack by pagan and Islamic enemies. In this situation churchmen were more than usually ready to accept that violence.

Pope Leo IV (847–55) built walls around the Vatican after the sack of St Peter's and appealed to the Franks for military support, recalling their past glories and military successes, adding that any who died in battle as a result would 'not be denied the heavenly kingdom'. In September 878, Pope John VIII (872–82) replied to a letter from the bishops of eastern Germany who asked if soldiers who fell fighting against the pagans would be damned. He ruled that they would not be damned, and that indeed war against the pagans was to be equated with other kinds of good deeds

²⁰ *AS* 10. April 10. 858–61.

²¹ Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe*, pp. 434–5; J. France, 'War and Christendom in the Thought of Rodulfus Glaber', *Studia Monastica* 30 (1988), 105–121.

²² Flori, *Guerre sainte* has an important discussion of early perceptions of Islam, pp. 227–40, and analyses Christian sanctification of war in Spain, pp. 246–60.

²³ J. Nelson, 'Ninth-Century Knighthood: the Evidence of Nithard', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. J. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth and J. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), 255–66.

as a form of penance. He invoked the authority of St Peter to assure the Germans that such men would be saved. The precise intention of the popes in these passages has been much debated. Erdmann suggested that these were 'assurances of everlasting life'. Very recently Jean Flori has argued that John VIII was merely excusing those who died from the need to do penance, but it can be argued that Flori thereby fails to note that penance is being equated with military service. What is striking is that these letters were not addressed to kings whose position as defenders of the church was by now well accepted, but to others. In the case of Leo IV he was apparently seeking Frankish soldiers to help in the defence of Rome, while John VIII was responding to a letter from the bishops, articulating the concerns of their flocks. These were novel statements, and it seems unlikely that they were intended to be understood in a narrow and technical fashion. The importance of these texts is surely that the church defines a righteous cause and individual lay people are asked to act, without the notion of royal authority intervening. We are here very close to the crusade indulgence, in which penance was remitted if a soldier promised to go to liberate Jerusalem.²⁴ But perhaps the real reason that these two letters have always caused difficulties is that they seem isolated. They have been treated as definitions, rather than as statements whose direction is to be assessed along with others.

A very substantial amount of evidence bearing upon this matter can be found in the lives of the saints written before AD 1000. Erdmann was severely hampered by his search for definition, because his starting point was the eleventh century and the theologians of violence. This led to him to underestimate the positive value, evident in the sources he used, which clerics perceived in violence, especially in upholding the social and political fabric. He occasionally referred to saints' lives, but only very selectively. A wider look at these tends to confirm the view that there was a broad consensus on the positive value of violence long before the year 1000.

Saints' lives were works of edification that were addressed to all Christians – but they arose from dialogue amongst the clergy themselves and very strongly reflected clerical attitudes. They were produced by writers who were usually anonymous. Few of those whose names we know were great intellectuals or men of high importance. From what we can deduce of the vast majority of anonymous writers, they were much the same. The ideas they express, therefore, are likely to be those current amongst the literate

²⁴ PL 115: 655–7; PL 126: 816 (also in *MGH Epistolae VII*, Letter 150, p. 126). For the debate up to 1977 the translators of Erdmann provided a very good short guide, Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, p. 27, n. 66; Flori, *Guerre sainte*, pp. 50–4.

clergy. They are likely to be representative of the literate 'church' as a whole in a way few other types of literature are. Their attitudes to war, therefore, are peculiarly important.

From early Christian times these writers of saints' lives saw a parallel between the struggles of the martyrs and those of soldiers. As a result, allegorical comment of this kind is commonplace. Nabor and Felix were martyred at the end of the third century under Maximian at Milan: they faced death 'armoured with invincible arms, clad in the breastplate of faith and the helmet of salvation, protected all about by heavenly strength'.²⁵ About 700 St Tillo, a Saxon captured in war, was redeemed from slavery by St Eligius who made him a monk. He is described as 'a soldier of Christ, the cross of Christ on his forehead was to him a helmet, and he was protected by the breastplate of faith'.²⁶ Examples of this kind could be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

The early Christian church produced a large number of military men who became martyrs. Many Roman soldiers were executed for refusing sacrifice to the emperor. Andrew the Tribune was noted as a fine soldier, but he was driven out of the army when Christians were being deliberately sought out.²⁷ Fabius the Standard-bearer equally was forced to refuse to play his military role by the demands of his superiors, as were many others.²⁸ Maximilian the Conscript and Typasius were in this respect most atypical. The former refused service on the grounds that he was a Christian, and although it was pointed out that plenty of other Christians were serving in the army he persisted and was martyred on 12 March 295. Typasius was a veteran who was recalled to the colours to deal with a North African revolt about 297 and refused.²⁹ These cases do support Flori's suggestion that some soldiers rejected their military role in favour of Christianity, thereby accepting martyrdom. But the more general pattern is one of men driven to their deaths who would otherwise have happily soldiered on.³⁰ The most famous group were the 'Theban Legion' who, it is alleged, refused *en bloc* to sacrifice to the emperor Maximian c. 300 at what later became the abbey of St Maurice d'Agaume. Their story gave rise to an enormous and often fanciful literature. One story is that of their commander, Gerone, and 318 other martyrs. In it there is a substantial emphasis on the idea that

²⁵ AS 30. July 12. 277-8.

²⁶ AS 30. January 7. 376-80; ASOSB 2: 994-1001.

²⁷ AS 37. August 19. 723-6.

²⁸ *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890), 123-34.

²⁹ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (Brussels, 1898-1911), no. 5813; *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890), 110-34.

³⁰ Flori, *Guerre sainte*, pp. 127-9.

Christianity flourished behind the screen of the legions, and it has been suggested that this should be seen as Ottonian ideology.³¹ In none of these is there disapproval of the soldier's job and it is sometimes explicitly stated that they were good and brave soldiers. Martyrdom comes to an abrupt halt after Constantine and the pattern changes. St Martin of Tours (330–97), in the life by Sulpicius Severus, is the son of a tribune who became an officer and then converted.³² This pattern of conversion to the clergy now becomes a major theme in the lives of medieval saints, and it is very important that this should be understood.

A very substantial number of early medieval saints had been soldiers. There are explicit statements to that effect in about fifty cases, but this is likely to be a gross understatement, because in real terms the choice for a young man of the noble class throughout the early Middle Ages was between being a soldier, and being a cleric – these were the two honourable professions. So anyone who is not recorded as entering the clergy at a young age, probably had military training and perhaps experience. However, in the early Middle Ages the overwhelming majority of saints are bishops, and some are recorded as having had a military career. Erdmann noted this, but argued that the writers of their lives stressed that they 'achieved holiness in opposition to their military profession'.³³ This is simply a misunderstanding. What the lives stress is that they 'converted' from their military career to a clerical one and even that is not a constant. Thus Faronus of Meaux had fought the Saxons in battle, though, as befits a future cleric, he converted his prisoners rather than killing them.³⁴ But Arnulf archbishop of Metz, who died in 640, remained a soldier after his elevation.³⁵ Bishops could take the lead in war. The most famous example is St Germanus of Auxerre who in 429 led the British to the Alleluia Victory near St Albans.³⁶ Hainmar of Auxerre fought for Pepin III (741–68) against Duke Eudo of Aquitaine, his own son-in-law. He captured Eudo who escaped and Hainmar was accused of collusion, and died seeking vengeance on his accusers.³⁷ Gerannus of Auxerre (910–14), when the Vikings approached, led the forces of the

³¹ AS 53. October 10. 36–42; J. F. Nieuw, 'La Passion de S. Gereon de Cologne (BHL3446) Une composition de l'époque ottonienne', *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997), 5–38.

³² *Vita Martini Sulpicii Severus*, ed. J. Fontaine, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 133–5 (Paris, 1967–9).

³³ Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 14–15.

³⁴ AS 61. October 28. 609–16; ASOSB 2: 606–25. ³⁵ ASOSB 2: 150–7.

³⁶ AS 35. July 31. 212–30; *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici*, vol. 7, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hanover, 1919–20), pp. 247–83; Fr. trans. by R. Borius, *Constance de Lyon, Vie de S. Germain d'Auxerre*, Sources chrétiennes 112 (Paris, 1965); Eng. trans. by F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, in *Makers of Christendom Series* (London, 1954), pp. 281–320.

³⁷ AS 61. October 27. 369–71.

city against them in full armour and won the battle.³⁸ Udalric bishop of Augsburg (923–73), whose life is unusually detailed, refortified the city and fought at the battle of the Lech in 955 where his brother and nephew were killed and buried with honour at Augsburg.³⁹ Writers of saints' lives were all too aware that their choice of career did not free the senior clergy from the violence of lay society. Rigobert of Reims (696–733) in 717 refused to let Charles Martel into the city during his war with Raganfridus for the royal succession, because he was uncertain of the outcome of the war: when Charles Martel won unsurprisingly he was exiled! But he was still revered as a saint.⁴⁰

In all these cases, and many others, the authors stress that the saint entered a higher and more holy life by entering the clergy. But in no case is there criticism of the bishop's former military role. These soldier-bishops are not really seen in a different way from those who never entered the military life. It is very interesting that the lives and miracles of soldier-saints exhibit the same kinds of miracles as other saints.

When particular wars between Christians are discussed, approval is expressed only where they could be shown to be defensive, and, therefore, in some way 'just wars' in the Augustinian sense.⁴¹ A good example is to be found in the life of St Droctoveus of Autun. When Autun was attacked by Childebert and Clothar about 576, Droctoveus paraded the relics of St Vincent and thus enabled the citizens to repel them. Clearly, although this was a war against Christians, the action was approved for God gave victory to the devotees of St Vincent.⁴² An unusually explicit case is that of the tenth-century Scottish bishop, Gervadius. He was present as battle was about to be joined between an invading English force and the Scottish army. One of the English invaders asked him for absolution, concerned for his soul because he was partaking in a war of aggression. He received it and his body was later found on the battlefield because it had a white bird (not black like the rest) upon it.⁴³ Even in the lives of Irish saints, which contain a great range of military stories in some of which holy men seem enthusiastically to endorse the violence of lay patrons, Augustinian notions seem

³⁸ AS 33. July 28. 566–99. The editors of the AS took the texts of the lives of Hainmar and Gerannus from *Gesta Episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, in P. Labbé, *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1657), 1: 411–526. There is another edition of this work by L. M. Duru in his *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne*, 2 vols. (Auxerre and Paris, 1850–63), 1: 309–509, who emphasizes (1: 397) that each life appears to have been written shortly after the death of its subject.

³⁹ AS 28. July 4. 97–122; ASOSB 5: 415–77. ⁴⁰ AS 1. January 4. 174–8.

⁴¹ Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law', pp. 37–45 drew attention to the strength and persistence of the Augustinian notion of the 'just war'; Flori, *Guerre sainte*, pp. 266–7 points to the very crude and unsophisticated use of Augustinian notions before the crusading period.

⁴² AS 8. March 10. 36–9. ⁴³ AS 67. November 8. 855–6.

to have had some influence. St Fintan had a vision of a forthcoming battle in which most of those who fought were evil men, but he distinguished them from those *qui bene vixerunt, et pro necessitate bellaverunt*, and it was for their souls that he prayed when they had perished.⁴⁴ St Tigernach felt he had to bless the offensive military expedition of his patron, King Fiachrius: but the savagery of war was ameliorated because the victorious king, as Tigernach had asked, returned not as tradition demanded with the heads of the enemy dead swinging from his saddles, but with mud and straw imitations.⁴⁵

When it came to fighting against social outcasts like robbers, the church's attitude was positively encouraging. When St Gudwal, a sixth-century British missionary to Brittany, was confronted by thieves he prayed for their destruction, recalling Moses with hands raised in prayer against the enemies of Israel.⁴⁶ The violence of patron saints in defence of their churches and property is a well-known phenomenon. A recent analysis of the famous *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* shows that even in the ninth century 12 per cent of the miracles attributed to him by the monks of Fleury involved violence and this rose to 34 per cent for the period 965–1008. The miracles of St Faith of Conques show a similar penchant for supporting violence in the cause of the saint.⁴⁷

Approval of the use of violence against infidels is even more patent; here there is no suggestion that war should be defensive, and even the participation of clergy was approved. The *Miracula Sancti Bertini* record Viking attacks on the abbey about 860–70 culminating in a great raid which devastated the countryside and forced all to take refuge within the abbey which was fortified and garrisoned with armed men. The enemy feared to attack it and went about ravaging but the cavalry and infantry of the garrison sallied out and defeated them as they made off with plunder, trapping them in a glade and killing all but nine, though there were Christian losses. The victory was attributed to St Bertinus. But the enemy returned with huge numbers of foot and cavalry. The garrison repelled them when a bowman killed the enemy leader, sallied out and drove off the enemy. A youth of Samer, formerly captured by them, played a notable role.⁴⁸ In the 930s Odo of Canterbury was present in battle against 'pagans' and not only prayed for the victory of the Christian army, but saved King Athelstan when it seemed he might be struck down in battle.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ AS 6. Feb 17. 17–20.

⁴⁵ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910), 1: 265–6, no. 84.

⁴⁶ AS 21. June 6. 718–36. ⁴⁷ Flori, *Guerre sainte*, pp. 101–24.

⁴⁸ AS 42. September 5. 596–603. ⁴⁹ AS 29. July 4. 67–73.

It is amongst monks that hostility to war is often thought to have been most dominant. The thirteenth canon of St Basil certainly was a vigorous continuation of earlier pre-Constantinian traditions against violence, yet it was a dead-letter in practice.⁵⁰ Those who joined the monastic life certainly were not expected to participate in war. Saint Marculf in the sixth century was a Breton abbot who went to a British island that was attacked by Saxon ships. He prayed and encouraged the defenders, but never fought himself.⁵¹ Those with late vocations were expected to break with their military past. St Bavo of Ghent died in 655. As a young man he had been ruler of Brabant and a soldier but after marriage turned away from the wildness of youth and became a pious defender of the poor before becoming a monk and solitary.⁵² A similarly brief, though faintly positive view of his early career as a soldier is taken by the biographer of St Guibert who died in 962. He abandoned the warrior life, during which he is said to have fought mercifully and never looted the poor, in order to found Gembloux.⁵³ But although monks distanced themselves from violence, their lives do not condemn it.

In the cases of St Bavo and St Guibert their biographers could slide over the details of their military careers and focus upon their monastic lives. St Odo faced a very different challenge in his *Life of St Gerald* because his subject remained a layman throughout his life. It is often cited as showing hostility to war because Odo tells us that Gerald ordered his men to reverse their spears and to use the flats of their swords. In fact this is an evasion of condemnation.⁵⁴ A similar case is the sixth-century Irish St Comgall. He was forced into the army of Dailnaraid because his father was too old to fight, but the campaign was broken off as God sent peace to save him from the necessity of fighting.⁵⁵

Running through almost all lives, and especially those of monks, is the idea of conversion. The early martyrs and confessors were converts. The Christian soldier-martyrs refused to sacrifice to the emperor because in converting they sought a better master, though not one who forbade them to participate in war. Once the church was established, a new conversion came to the fore, to the clerical life. This theme of conversion clearly emphasized the apartness of the clergy as a whole and of the monks in

⁵⁰ J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London, 1999) p. 16.

⁵¹ AS 14. May 1. 72–7; ASOSB 1: 128–33.

⁵² AS 49. October 1. 229–35; ASOSB 2: 324–41.

⁵³ AS 18. May 23. 262–9; ASOSB 3: 299–314.

⁵⁴ Odo of Cluny, *Life of St Gerald*, ed. and trans. G. Sirtwell (New York, 1958).

⁵⁵ AS 15. May 10. 577–87; *Vitae*, ed. Plummer, 2: 3–21.

particular. War was seen by the writers of saints' lives as a part of the life left behind by the process of conversion. They were aware of its sinful nature, but probably this was less important than the simple fact that for most of the people whom they revered, people of the upper class, it was the clear and obvious alternative to the clerical life. War was not in itself condemned, most particularly because so many bishops had to fight. Rather it was always seen as part of the evil of the world that had to be faced and made the best of. War could, therefore, be directed and used, for it was part of the created order which men could only escape by the ultimate renunciation of monasticism. But the first concern of the writers of the lives of saints was to emphasize the apartness of the clergy and their association with sanctity. This institutional imperative is a dominant theme in early medieval saints' lives. It is certainly true, as Erdmann says over and over, that canon law forbade the senior clergy to involve themselves in war.⁵⁶ But actual practice made it virtually essential, so the careful drawing of the line between clergy and laity was always vital in the eyes of clerical writers, but this did not and could not involve attacking those who practised warfare.

It is because of the importance of conversion, and the institutional imperative to distinguish clergy from laity, that saints who spent their whole lives as laymen or women are relatively rare, especially if they had a military career. Erdmann saw that the writers of saints' lives sometimes took a positive view of the lives of their lay subjects, but he pointed out that in the case of St Edmund of East Anglia his role was that of passive martyr, not bold resister of an alien enemy. However, more recently it has been argued that the author of this life, Abbo of Fleury, was consciously trying to create a figure of reconciliation between Danes and English, a king who died for both.⁵⁷ In any case there was a quite different kind of king's life. Edwin of Northumbria, as the story is told by Bede, promised to convert if God gave him victory over his enemies, and God duly obliged.⁵⁸ At a less exalted level Arnulf the Martyr was a layman. Accused of disloyalty by his lord, he died in battle against pagans when he gave his horse to his unhorsed lord so that he could flee. He is nominally eighth-century, but I suspect this is a later life.⁵⁹ Much odder is St Gengulf, who died c. 760, having been

⁵⁶ Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, p. 15.

⁵⁷ *PL* 139: 507–20; Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 33–4; M. Mostert, *The Political Theory of Abbo of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1987), pp. 40–5.

⁵⁸ *AS* 53, Oct 12. 108–19; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 167–207.

⁵⁹ *AS* 3, January 29. 587–9.

killed by the priestly lover of his wife. His cult seems to have sprung up spontaneously at Varennes where he may have founded a church!⁶⁰

Odo's life of Gerald of Aurillac is a clear reaction against this exclusion of the laity from the ranks of saints, and intended to create a worthy model for lay people, especially the kind of rich and powerful lay people who patronized Cluny. In the 940s a book of the miracles of Gerald was written, and in it Gerald's friend and patron, Bishop Stephen of Clermont, looms large. He was called upon to consecrate the chapel at Aurillac dedicated to Gerald. Even though he was ill and it was the middle of winter Stephen set out on this arduous journey, only to fall ill. On his bed of sickness he prayed to St Gerald, only to be reproached by a senior cleric of his entourage who said: 'You ought not to fall into such folly. Why do you neglect even the great ones as well as the others, and despise their merits to ask the help of this Gerald, a secular man, a mere layman, as if you were persuaded that his protection is superior and his power greater? His intercession can help neither you nor himself.' The response was a vision of Gerald that cured Stephen of his illness.⁶¹ The story emphasizes the exclusion of the laity, and the anxiety of Cluny to dignify its position. Even more interesting in the context of the development of attitudes is the case of Bovo or Bobo, a nobleman from Provence who, in the mid-tenth century, fought the Saracens of La Garde-Freinet. When he lost his brother in battle he went on pilgrimage to Rome, but died at Voghera in Italy where he was revered as a saint. There is no doubt that he was sanctified because he was a hero of the wars against the Muslims. His bellicose deeds are described in such detail that it is fair to describe him as a warrior-saint in a way that St Gerald of Aurillac plainly is not. But then St Gerald was not fighting against infidels.⁶² It is not odd that it happened in France. In Spain there was holy war, while in Germany the church could dignify the role of the laity by praise of the Emperor and his military position. However, in France the traditional authority of emperor or king was clearly in eclipse, and churchmen obviously needed a new kind of legitimate authority on the Augustinian model.

There is no doubt that there had always existed within the church of western Europe diverse attitudes towards war and violence. Some early Christians were outright pacifist in their attitudes, and their writings,

⁶⁰ *AS* 15, May 11, 643–7.

⁶¹ A. M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Des *Miracula* inédits de Saint Géraud d'Aurillac (ob.909). Étude, édition critique et traduction française', *Analecta Bollandiana* 118 (2000), 47–141.

⁶² *AS* 18, May 22, 186–8.

amongst them those of Lactantius, came down to and influenced early medieval thinking.⁶³ Erdmann made much of the sceptical attitude towards war of many Christian thinkers, notably Carolingian theologians. It is undoubtedly true that the formal prohibition on killing remained in force and canon law continued to frown upon it. There was a standpoint to criticize clergy deeply involved in secular affairs, and this shows in the defensiveness of Roger and his anxiety to defend Archbishop Bruno from criticism.⁶⁴ But although there were some who sought to distance themselves from violence and who could find justification in the traditions of the church, the fact is that the mainstream of western Christianity accommodated itself to the fact of war and even brought itself to approve of it and see it as meritorious in certain circumstances. Long before the millennium churchmen had become convinced that war, for all its evils, could have a moral purpose and serve divine ends. There was no doctrine, no definition, of what constituted holy war, beyond the very flexible notion of the 'just war' offered by St Augustine. But the readiness to assume that war in a righteous cause was virtuous is evident even if the notion of it in any sense being penitential was undeveloped, apart from the hint in the letter of John VIII. To that extent Erdmann was right. But he was so focused on issues of definition that he did not attach very much importance to evidence from the centuries before AD 1000 which pointed to changing human attitudes. There can be no doubt that by about the year 1000 there was, as Flori has recently argued, a notion of holy war.⁶⁵ It was popular, ill-defined and spontaneous, but it was one which clearly enjoyed clerical support. The lives of the saints are a vast body of material and they point to an acceptance of the moral value of war by the clerical elite. Overall they give little hint of the idea that a Christian should be pacifist, and, indeed, from the earliest times seem to accept war and increasingly provide evidence that it could be virtuous.

Throughout the period down to about AD 1000 the different attitudes towards war co-existed, though it seems to the present writer that approval was by far the more dominant. It was only in the eleventh century that the church began to take a systematic view, but even this was for a long time very limited. In 1095 Urban II was able to draw upon a consensus of long standing amongst the clergy that war, while in principle deplorable, was

⁶³ Lactantius (c. 240–320), tutor of Constantine the Great, was a notable Christian apologist and his hostility to war is very evident in *Divinae Institutiones*, ed. and trans. E. H. Blakeney (London, 1950).

⁶⁴ See above, p. 195. ⁶⁵ Flori, *Guerre sainte*, pp. 252–60.

not merely permissible but could be said to have moral worth in its own right if used for the right ends. The doctrine of the 'just war', which made war permissible, proved highly flexible and had allowed for the notion that moral ends could be achieved by violence. There was no developed doctrine (just as the doctrine of penance was uncertain), and to that extent Erdmann was correct, but those who heard Urban's appeal in 1095 would have had no difficulty assimilating it to their own attitudes. The clergy recognized not merely that war was unavoidable, but also that it could serve divine purposes, and Urban II emphatically confirmed that.

*The bible moralisée and the crusades**Christoph T. Maier*

'Art and crusade' has in recent years become a lively field of scholarly study. There are three major areas in which the crusade movement has been connected to medieval art. First, there are the architectural monuments and objects of art which were built and produced in the crusader states of the Levant. Usually referred to as 'crusader art and architecture', this is an area of study with a long tradition and a scholarly pedigree that reaches back well into the nineteenth century.¹ Having strong links with the archaeology of the crusader states, research in crusader art and architecture has recently flourished, producing a number of important monograph studies including works on coins and seals.² A second area of 'art and crusade' encompasses representations of crusades and crusaders in medieval sculpture and painting, i.e. books, murals and glass windows. Surprisingly, this is an area that has attracted very little systematic research to date. Nevertheless, some valuable articles have recently been published on individual aspects

I should like to thank Anne B. Darmstätter for her help with translating the Old French texts as well as Cathy Aitken for reading the final draught of this essay.

¹ See the historiographical sketch by J. Folda, 'Crusader Art. A Multicultural Phenomenon: Historiographical Reflections', in *APC*, pp. 609–15. See also volume four of *HC*, entitled 'The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States', with survey articles on various aspects of crusader art and architecture by T. S. R. Boase, A. H. S. Megaw, D. J. Wallace and J. Folda.

² See for example B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century. A Geographical, an Historiographical, or an Art Historical Notion?* (Berlin, 1994); J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995); D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997); and *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 2 vols. to date (Cambridge, 1992, 1998). For recent monographs on crusader archaeology see also R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 1999); R. P. Harper and D. Pringle, *Beimont Castle. The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 10 (Oxford, 2000). D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 2nd edn, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 28 (London, 1995); A. G. Malloy, I. F. Preston and A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. A. G. Berman (New York, 1994). See also volume six of *HC*, which features articles on crusade coinage by J. Porteus, M. L. Bates and D. M. Metcalf. For seals see H. E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse, neue Folge 83 (Munich, 1978).

of the representation of crusades and crusaders in medieval sculpture and painting.³ Thirdly, there is the influence of the ideology of the crusade on the thematic contents of works of art that did not originate in the crusader states and do not actually depict the crusade or crusaders. In the past two decades, this has become a very lively and extremely interesting area of study, showing how the crusade indirectly influenced developments in medieval art and also illustrating forcefully how crusade ideology subtly pervaded medieval culture as a whole.⁴

In this essay I want to make a small contribution to the expanding literature on 'art and crusade' by looking at a topic that has so far been neglected, namely the representations of the crusade and crusaders in the *bibles moralisées*. It may well be that Reiner Hausherr's authoritative pronouncement that 'the crusades found no echo in the bible exegesis of the *bible moralisée*' has been taken at face value for too long.⁵ Although Hans-Walter Storck in his work on one of the Vienna *bibles moralisées*

³ See for example N. Kanaan-Kedar and B. Z. Kedar, 'The Significance of a Twelfth-Century Sculptural Group: Le Retour du Croisé', in *Dei gesta per Francos. Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard – Crusade studies in honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 29–44; E. A. R. Brown and M. W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Præteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum Est Exhibitio*', *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 1–40. For earlier work see P. Dechamps, 'Combats de cavalerie et épisodes des Croisades dans les peintures murales du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947), 454–74. For a selection of medieval works of art depicting crusades and crusaders see the illustrations in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995).

⁴ See for example D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1998); and 'Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art', *Modern Language Notes* 108 (1993), 710–37; A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996); 'Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin', *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), 460–78; and 'A Crusading Fresco Cycle at the Cathedral of Le Puy', *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 561–76; L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory. The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981); 'Holy Warriors. The Romanesque Warrior and the Fight against Islam', in *The Holy War: Fifth Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. T. P. Murphy (Columbus, 1976), pp. 33–77; and 'Images of Crusaders in Western Art. Models as Metaphors', in *The Meeting of Two Worlds. Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 21 (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 377–92; C. F. O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Facade of St Gilles du Gard* (New York, 1977); A. Heyman, 'The Representation of the Holy Sepulchre in Auvergnat Romanesque Sculpture. A Reflection of Crusader Patrons?', in *APC*, pp. 633–42; D. Carl, 'Franziskanischer Märtyrerkult als Kreuzzugspropaganda an der Kanzel von Benedetto da Maiano in Santa Croce in Florenz', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 39 (1995), 69–91; N. Reed Kline, 'The Typological Window of Orbais-l'Abbaye. The Context of its Iconography', *Studies in Iconography* 14 (1995), 83–130; J. Fox-Friedman, 'Messianic Visions. Modena Cathedral and the Crusades', *Res* 25 (1994), 77–95; D. Denny, 'A Romanesque Fresco in Auxerre Cathedral', *Gesta* 25 (1986), 197–202; C. Maines, 'The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral. New Considerations on Text and Image', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 801–23.

⁵ R. Hausherr, 'Zur Darstellung zeitgenössischer Wirklichkeit und Geschichte in der Bible moralisée und in Illustrationen von Geschichtsschreibung im 13. Jahrhundert', in *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo. Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, vol. 11, ed. H. Belting (Bologna, 1982), pp. 211–17, at p. 213: 'Die Kreuzzüge fanden in der Bibelauslegung der Bible moralisée kein Echo'.

suggested that Hausherr's statement needed modification, he did not investigate the topic of the representation of the crusade any further.⁶ In his work on the Arsenal Old Testament Daniel Weiss, in a general fashion, hinted at the fact that crusade ideology had a strong impact on the pictorial programme and biblical exegesis of lavishly illustrated bibles originating, as the *bibles moralisées* did, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century under the influence of the French royal family.⁷ But neither the influence of crusade ideology nor the occasional occurrence of representations of the crusade and crusaders in the *bibles moralisées* have until now been studied.

In one of the early *bibles moralisées* now at Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB), codex 2554) the theme of crusading crops up in several places both in the pictures and the accompanying texts. Together with the second Vienna *bible moralisée* (ÖNB, codex 1179) this is one of the earliest, if not the earliest example of the genre. Neither the exact date of production nor the chronological relationship between the two Vienna *bibles moralisées* are entirely clear. There seems to be agreement that ÖNB codex 2554 was made between 1215 and 1230 for a member of the French royal family; in a recent study comprising all extant *bibles moralisées*, John Lowden has argued that codex 2554 is in fact the earliest surviving example, predating ÖNB codex 1179 by about half a decade, and that it was probably produced in the early 1220s on the instigation of Blanche of Castille, the wife of Louis VIII and mother of Louis IX.⁸ Considering this date and provenance, it should come as no surprise that the theme of crusading features in ÖNB codex 2554. The period between 1215 and 1230, like the first half of the thirteenth century in general, was a time of great crusading activity both in France against the Albigensian heretics and elsewhere, and the members of the French royal family – past, present and future – were fervent supporters and active participants of the crusade movement.⁹ If Louis IX, according to Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'lived in a world suffused with crusading fervour', the same can be said about his mother, father and brothers.¹⁰

⁶ H.-W. Storck, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée Codex 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Saarbrücker Hochschulschriften 18 (St Ingbert, Saar, 1992), p. 132.

⁷ Weiss, 'Biblical History', p. 716; and *Art and Crusade*, pp. 117–28.

⁸ J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, vol. 1. *The Manuscripts* (University Park, Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 51–2. For the discussion about the date and provenance of ÖNB codex 2554 see pp. 11–54, esp. pp. 50–4. See also *Bible Moralisée. Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, comm. and trans. G. B. Guest, Manuscripts in Miniature 2 (London, 1995), pp. 1–27.

⁹ For an overview of crusading in the first half of the thirteenth century see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London, 1987), pp. 119–61.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

In its present form ÖNB codex 2554 is far from what it must have looked like in the thirteenth century. Not only have an unknown number of folios been lost, but the original margins were also cut off at some point and the sequence of the quires was (wrongly) re-arranged several times in the nineteenth century and earlier.¹¹ All the pages follow the characteristic lay-out of the *bible moralisée* with eight medallions in two rows each accompanied by its own explanatory text to the left or right. Each medallion illustrating a passage of the Bible is related to the medallion immediately below, which offers a moralizing interpretation of that biblical passage. In ÖNB codex 2554 these pairs of medallions always follow a sequence from top left to top right to bottom left to bottom right.¹² In the following discussion I shall adopt the terminology used by John Lowden, who refers to the single elements of each pair of medallions as 'biblical image', 'biblical text', 'moralizing image' and 'moralizing text'.¹³ The relationship between images and texts is simple and complex at the same time and also depends on the way in which the pages are read by each individual reader.¹⁴ Even though on the level of execution the images were drawn first and the texts supplied afterwards, the understanding of texts and images depends on the juxtaposition and parallel reading of both.¹⁵ In order to perceive the full meaning it is not only paramount to combine each image with its text, it is also necessary to look at each pair of biblical and moralizing medallions together, since the biblical precedent acts as a mould in which the moral message is formed. The meaning of the 'moralizing' interpretation usually only becomes entirely clear when set against the preceding biblical image and text. Sometimes a full understanding of any single biblical and moralizing image/text pair also depends on the preceding or anteceding such pairs or a sequence of pairs spanning one or several pages.¹⁶

The first direct reference to the theme of crusading in ÖNB codex 2554 appears on folio 4r (fig. 1).¹⁷ In the second moralizing image (second from top on the right), we see three crusaders or Jerusalem pilgrims, with one being almost entirely hidden behind the two others. Their status is clearly marked by the pilgrim's attire, consisting of the typical cloak, hat or hood, staff and purse. The crosses attached to the cloaks on their right shoulders show them to be crusaders or Jerusalem pilgrims. They are walking away from a group of three adults and two children, whose eyes and gestures

¹¹ For this see Lowden, *The Making*, pp. 12–22. ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 27–30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁶ For this see also S. Lipton, *Images of Intolerance. The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 10–13.

¹⁷ I am using the foliation as suggested by Lowden, *The Making*, pp. 14–15.

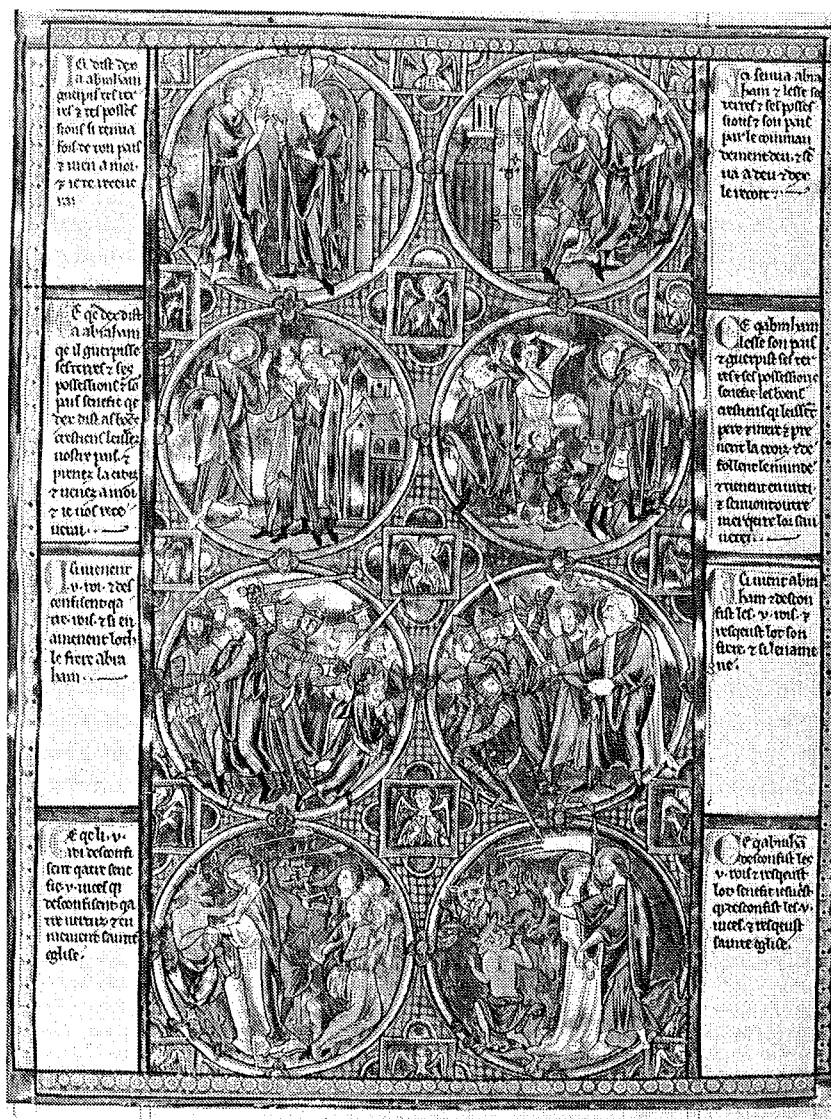


Figure 1. MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fol. 4r.

follow the departing pilgrim/crusaders. The accompanying text explains: 'That Abraham leaves his homeland and abandons his land and his possessions signifies the good Christians who leave their father and mother and take the cross and despise the world and regard it as evil and go to Outremer to look for their salvation.'¹⁸ This helps us to identify the other figures in the medallion as the family members of the departing pilgrim/crusaders: an older man with a hat (a father?), a women (a wife?), one barely discernible, bearded figure in the background (a brother?), a boy (a son?) and a girl (a daughter?) at their feet. They are obviously agitated, grieving over the departure of their loved ones: the male members of the group throwing up their arms in despair, the woman and the girl tearing at their hair in a display of grief.¹⁹

This scene is reminiscent of the way in which thirteenth-century crusade propaganda texts describe the relationship between crusaders and their families. There crusaders were said to have found it difficult to leave their families behind when departing from home. The emotional ties between husband and wife, father and children were said to make (potential) crusaders reluctant to take the cross or, once they had taken the cross, to leave on what was after all a journey of uncertain outcome, including the possibility of death along the way.²⁰ Apart from the possible emotional upheavals caused by the departure of the head of a family on crusade, there were of course the legal and economic uncertainties affecting a household and its members, who might well have sold or mortgaged property in order to finance the crusade. This then explains the despair and grief displayed in the facial expressions and the bodily gestures of the family members in the medallion. The two pilgrim/crusaders whose heads can be seen do not, however, replicate these same feelings. They walk away from their loved

¹⁸ 'Ce qabraham lesse son pais et guerpiſt ses terres et ses possessions ſenefie les boens creſtiens qī leiſſent pere et mere et prenent la croiz et defollent le munde et tienent en vitteī et ſen vont outre mer querre lor ſovetei.'

¹⁹ Very similar images are used in other *bibles moralisées* (ÖNB codex 1179, Toledo, Tesoro de Catedral, *Biblia de San Luis*, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b), but only in ÖNB codex 2554 are the pilgrims marked out as crusaders/Jerusalem pilgrims by the cross. See Hausherr, 'Zur Darstellung', p. 213.

²⁰ See Humbert of Romans in his *De praedicatione crucis* ((Nürnberg), 1495), ch. 23: 'Contra nimiam affectionem erga suos que ad idem [i.e. the refusal to take the cross] facit. Circa sextum notandum quod quidam tanta teneritudine affectionis moventur erga suos quod non solum curam aliquam de lege divina domesticis exhibent sed eos contristari nolentes de sui abſtinentia carere ſibi intollerabile reputantes retrahunt a cruce. "Quomodo" inquiunt "poſſem relinquere matrem meam, uxorem meam, liberos meos et filia". See also a passage in one of Gilbert of Tournai's crusade model sermons in C. T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology. Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 202: 'Profecto enim patria, propria, parentes, uxor et filii vincula ſunt retinentia.'

ones, heads upright and sight fixed into the distance, suggesting a clear purpose and confidence in their own enterprise. This portrayal of the crusader also finds its equivalent in propaganda texts, which stress the positive aspects of crusaders leaving their homes and families. By accepting the sacrifices involved in leaving their loved ones and giving up their domestic worries, model crusaders were said to show their renunciation of worldly affairs, their overwhelming love for God – who was said to have called upon them to go take the cross – and their unfaltering commitment to the cause of the crusade.²¹ This is exactly what the crusaders in the medallion are doing. Not only do they leave their loved ones seemingly unaffected by the emotional ties that hold them back; but the artist also suggested that they had a special relationship with God – whom he placed in the little square above their heads outside the medallion – by joining their heads and God's hands with thin radiating lines. Against the background of this striking similarity of the leave-taking scenes of this *bible moralisée* and the crusade model sermons,²² it seems likely that the pilgrims in the medallion could be understood to be not just ordinary Jerusalem pilgrims but crusaders, who left on crusade not in their military attire but in pilgrims' clothes.

Why did the artist(s) or the *concepteur*²³ choose to include this scene of the departing crusaders at this point? The medallion is the moralizing image to Genesis 12:4, where Abraham and his family leave their homeland for Canaan on God's command. The biblical image that goes with this passage (fig. 1, top right) shows Abraham walking away from his house, accompanied by two people who can be identified as his wife Sarah and his nephew Lot.²⁴ The corresponding biblical text reads: 'Here Abraham goes

²¹ See the model sermons by Eudes of Châteauroux (Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 130–132: 'Et signum est quod homo Deum diligat, qui mundum abicit. Sic signum manifestum est quod homo dilectione Dei ardeat et zelo, qui propter Deum patriam, possessiones, domos, filios, uxores derelinquit vadens ultra mare in servitio Ihesu Christi', p. 156: 'Dura ut infernus emulatio quia, sicut illi qui in inferno sunt non curant de caris suis, sic hii [i.e. cruce signati] emulatione Dei accensi de caris suis curare non videntur, uxores et filios propter Dominum dimittentes', p. 170: 'Assumentes enim crucem se abnegant, id est abiurant, se mortis periculo exponendo, suos eos relinquendo, sua ea consumendo, tollentes crucem suam') and Gilbert of Tournai (Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 202: 'Unde legimus de quodam nobili milite, quod iturus ultra mare fecit adduci ad se filios parvulos, quos valde diligebat. Et cum eos diu aspiciens amplecteretur, dixerunt ei famuli eius: Dimitte pueros istos et recedatis, quia multi vos expectant, ut vos deducant. Quibus ille: Ideo coram me filios meos adduci feci, ut excitato affectu ad eos cum maiori angustia mentis reliquam eos pro Christo et ita magis merear apud Deum').

²² It is interesting to note in this context that Sara Lipton actually compared the argumentative structure of the *bibles moralisées* with that of scholastic sermons. See Lipton, *Images*, pp. 11–13.

²³ For the question of who was responsible for the conception and execution of the texts and images – probably a team of individuals working under the guidance of one single master – see Lowden, *The Making*, pp. 33–42.

²⁴ Sarah and Lot are mentioned in Genesis 12:5.

forth and leaves his land and his possessions and his homeland at God's command, and he goes to God and God receives him.'²⁵ This medallion and the accompanying moralizing image of the departing crusaders form a unit with the preceding pair of medallions illustrating Genesis 12:1, in which God gives the actual command to Abraham (fig. 1, top left). The moralizing image that goes with this scene shows God in the pose of a preacher addressing an audience of six people. The corresponding text reads: 'That God says to Abraham to leave his land and his possessions and his homeland signifies that God says to the good Christians: Leave your homeland and take your cross and come to me and I will receive you.'²⁶ There is in this text a clear typological reference to Luke 9:23: 'If anyone wants to come after me, let him renounce himself and take up his cross and follow me.'²⁷ By introducing the element of the cross with its symbolic reference to Christ's act of redemption, the moralizing text translates the Old Testament command into a New Testament context. At the same time the symbolism of the cross allows the *concepteur* to introduce the element of crusade and pilgrimage, on which he elaborates in the following moralizing image and text. The interpretation or moral message of the Old Testament passage is thus constructed in two stages. First God's command to Abraham to leave his country and go to Canaan is said to signify God's offer to people 'to take up their cross', i.e. repent, and by doing so go on a spiritual journey that will lead them to him. The concept of repentance and the idea of a spiritual journey is then given a concrete context in the following moralizing image, the crusader medallion. There the crusaders are introduced as an example of people who follow God's call to go on a journey which is at the same time physical and spiritual and above all penitential.

The second direct reference to the theme of crusading in ÖNB codex 2554 comes on folio 38r (fig. 2). In the bottom left moralizing image we can see the figure of a king in battledress wearing a crown and carrying a banner displaying the sign of the cross. Crammed behind his back are four other people without military attire, although one of them can be seen to carry a sword. Opposite this group stands the figure of a devil closely followed by five other figures. The devil is clothed only in a piece of cloth wrapped round his middle and carries a clawed stick; one of the people behind him is marked out as a Jew by his characteristic hat.²⁸ The accompanying text

²⁵ 'Ici senva abraham et lesse ses terres et ses possessions et son pais par le commandement deu et senva a deu et dex le recoit.'

²⁶ 'Ce qe dex dist a abraham qe li guerpisse ses terres et ses possessions et son pais senefie qe dex dist as boens crestiens leissez vostre pais et prenez la croiz et venez a moi et ie vos receverai.'

²⁷ 'Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.'

²⁸ For the representation of Jews in the *bibles moralisées* see Lipton, *Images*, pp. 15–28.

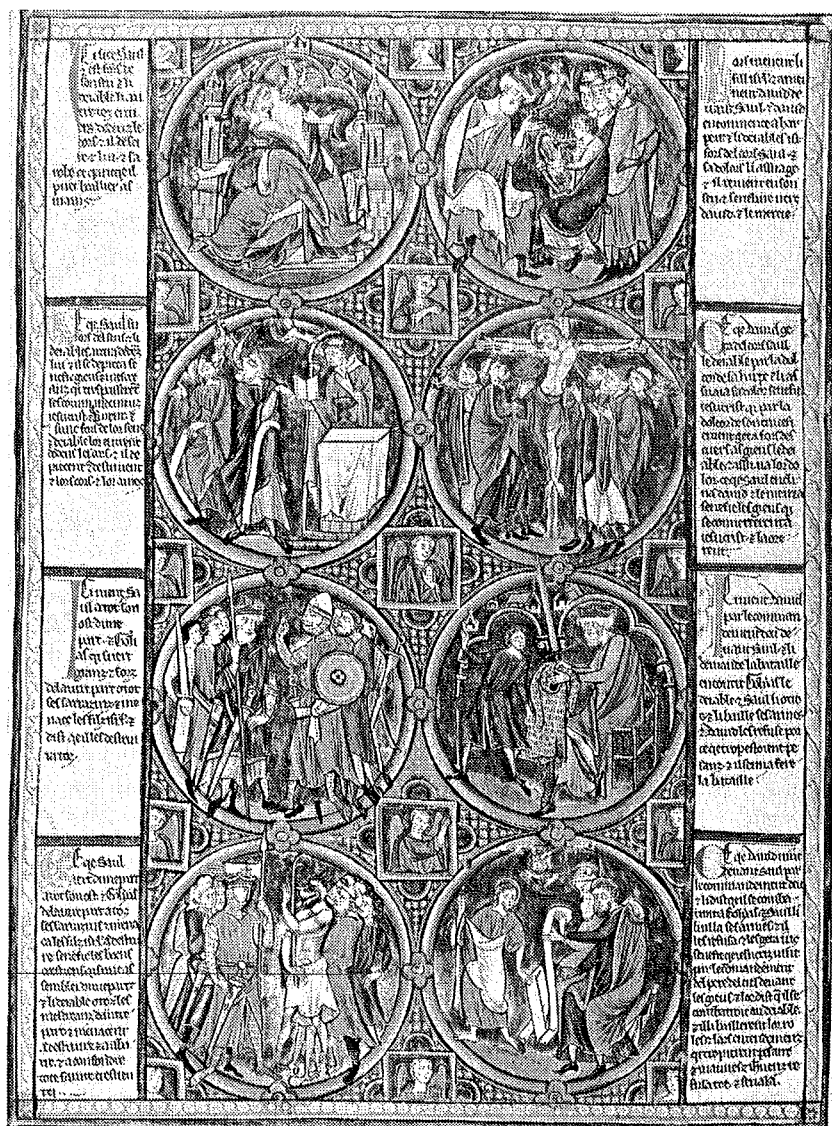


Figure 2. MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fol. 38r.

to this medallion reads: 'That Saul was on one side with all his army and Goliath on the other with all his Saracens and threatened to destroy the sons of Israel signifies the good Christians who are assembled on one side and the devil and all the miscreants on the other, [who] threaten to destroy and knock down and confound all of Holy Christianity.'²⁹

The biblical image that goes with this medallion is an illustration of 1 Samuel 17:4–11, which tells the story of the confrontation between King Saul and Goliath on the battlefield at the moment when Goliath challenged the Israelites to a duel. The main theme linking this pair of biblical and moralizing medallions is the battle between the people of God and their enemies. The representation of the Old Testament story already makes clear reference to the crusade since the explanatory text calls the enemies of Israel not Philistines as in the Bible but Saracens: 'Here Saul comes with his army on one side and Goliath on the other, who is great and strong, with all his Saracens, and he threatens the sons of Israel and says that he will destroy them all.'³⁰ Here the interpretation of the Bible passage already begins in the text explaining the biblical image. Calling the Philistines Saracens transported the Old Testament scene into the contemporary context of the wars against the Muslims and that meant the crusades.³¹ Drawing a parallel between the enemies of the people of Israel and the contemporary adversaries of Christianity was a very common element of crusade propaganda in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The wars of the Israelites were used as a foil for the crusades suggesting that, as God supported his people in the Old Testament and approved of their warlike actions, so he was with the crusaders in their fight against the enemies of their religion and their church.³² In the moralizing image the reference to the crusade was again repeated. Here the King Saul of the biblical image was so-to-speak replaced by the king carrying the banner of the cross, which was an attribute of the crusader commonly used in medieval art.³³

Although the references to the crusade are clear in both the biblical and the moralizing image, the main theme and the intended message of this pair of medallions were not primarily about the crusade. Throughout 1 Samuel, ÖNB codex 2554 is focusing on the general overriding theme of

²⁹ 'Ce qe Saul iert dune part a tot son ost et Golyas de lautre part a toz ses sarrazins et menaca les filz israel a destruire senefie les boens crestiens qi sunt assemblei dune part et li deiable o toz les mescreanz dautre part et menacent a destruire et a abatre et a confondre tote sainte crestientej.'

³⁰ 'Ici vient Saul a tot son ost dune part et Goliath qi li iert granz et forz de lautre part o toz ses sarrazinz et menace les filz israel et dist qe il les destruiira toz.'

³¹ The term 'Saracens' is used to denote the Philistines throughout fols. 35–8.

³² See Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 54–6.

³³ See for example *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, pp. 35, 50, 149.

the relationship between the people of God and their enemies – historical, contemporary and spiritual – with a special emphasis on the enmity between Christians and Jews.³⁴ This theme is given the widest possible treatment with recurring references to a variety of aspects. The two medallions illustrating 1 Samuel 17:4–11 discussed here are a good example of the many layers of meaning and the multiplicity of references that could be included in both texts and images. Whereas the biblical image transports the main theme through time by combining the Old Testament story with the present through the choice of contemporary terminology in the explanatory text, the moralizing image shows the scope of the main theme by presenting a number of pictorial and textual elements that refer to different types of struggles between Christians and their enemies. The figure of the king stands for the crusades and the wars against non-Christians, the devil stands for the struggle against the spiritual enemies and the figure of the Jew highlights one of the prominent themes of this *bible moralisée* altogether, the enmity between Judaism and Christianity.³⁵

The third reference to the crusade in ÖNB codex 2554 follows two folios later in connection with 1 Samuel 25:12–13 (fig. 3). In the bottom right moralizing image of fol. 40v, we see an agitated scene involving two clerics, possibly monks, on the left and a crowned³⁶ warrior, possibly a prince or king, on the right, followed by a group of at least five people. One of these five also carries a sword, another one is clad in clerical attire wearing what could be a bishop's hat; of a third one all that can be seen is his tonsured head. The two clerics on the left carry open books and appear to be explaining something to the others. The crowned warrior is raising his arm high, seemingly in response to the clerics' announcements. The accompanying text reads: 'That the messengers recounted to David the outrage and folly of Nabal, and David armed himself and took an oath and vowed to destroy him and his line signifies the good messengers of Jesus Christ who return from the Albigensians and recount to the princes and good Christians the evil and miscreance of the Albigensians, and all the friends of God take the cross and say that they will kill and destroy them all.'³⁷ The image in other words represents the start of a crusade against the

³⁴ MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fols. 35–43.

³⁵ See Lipton, *Images*, passim.

³⁶ What hardly looks like a crown in the black-and-white reproduction is clearly marked as such in the original by being painted in gold.

³⁷ 'Ce qe li message conterent a david et lotrage et la folie Nabal et david sarma et iura qe il destruiroit et lui et sa ligne senefie les boens messages iesucrist qì repairent dabigeois et content as princes et as boens crestiens la mauvestie et la mescreandise des abygeos et tuit li ami deu prennent la croiz et dient qe il les ocirront et destruront toz.'

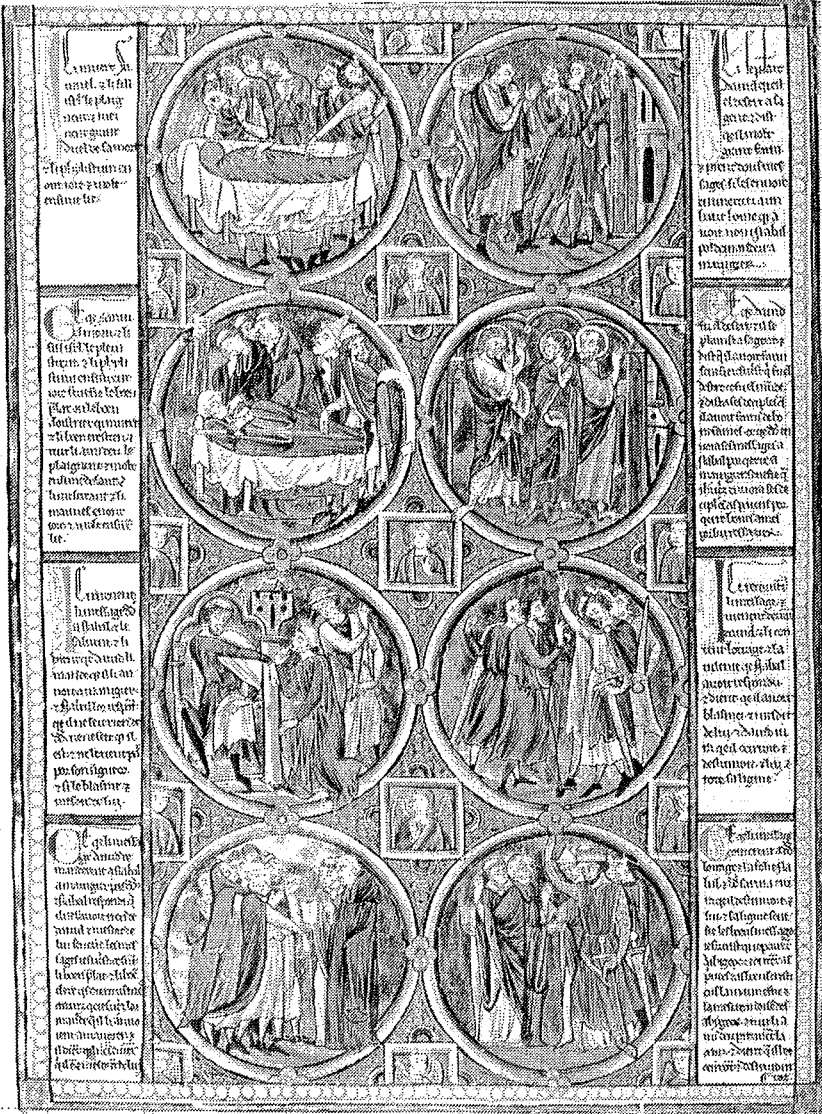


Figure 3. MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 2554, fol. 40v.

Albigensians, with the king or prince vowing to take the cross and other clerics and lay people presumably about to do the same.

The composition of this scene is determined by the biblical image and text preceding this medallion, which illustrate 1 Samuel 25.12–13. The scene in this image is arranged in the same way as the crusader medallion with two messengers on one side and David and his followers on the other. Here David's messengers are coming back from Nabal, who refused the former's offer of friendship and the demand to look after his men, upon which David decides to take up arms against Nabal.³⁸ The interpretation of this Bible passage offered in the moralizing medallion is a straight translation of the biblical scene into a contemporary context: the biblical story of David's war against Nabal is compared to the Albigensian crusade, which was intermittently operating in Languedoc between 1208 and 1226.³⁹ More specifically, the moralizing image can be read as a direct reference to the crusading campaigns against the Albigensians by Prince Louis, the later Louis VIII, in 1215 and 1218.⁴⁰ The accompanying text refers to 'princes' as being addressed by the messengers and, just as David, the future king of Israel, was a 'prince' at the time, so the crowned figure in the moralizing image might well be intended, or could at least be understood, as a reference to Prince Louis. Given the fact that this particular *bible moralisée* is likely to have been produced for a member of Louis VIII's court, this interpretation certainly imposes itself.⁴¹

The three medallions discussed here are the only direct mentions of the theme of crusading in ÖNB codex 2554. In comparison with other themes, such as for example Jews and Judaism, the theme of crusading does by no means play a dominating role in this or any other *bible moralisée*; its occasional appearance is certainly incidental rather than programmatic.⁴²

³⁸ The accompanying text to the biblical image reads: 'Ici retournent li message et vienent devant david et li content lotrage et la vilenie qe Nabal avoit respondu et dient qe il avoit blasmei et mesdit de lui et David iura qe il ocirroit et destruiroit et lui et tote sa ligne.' – 'Here the messengers return and come before David and recount the outrage and the villany with which Nabal responded and they say that he blasphemed and cursed him and David vows to kill and destroy him and his line.'

³⁹ Riley-Smith, *A Short History*, pp. 133–9; A. P. Evans, 'The Albigensian Crusade', in *HC*, 2: 277–324; J. R. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades* (New York, 1971).

⁴⁰ The most detailed treatment of these crusades remains C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et la règne de Louis VIII (1187–1226)*, Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études: sciences philologiques et historiques 101 (Paris, 1894), pp. 184–202. See also G. Sivéry, *Louis VIII: le lion* (Paris, 1995), pp. 206–10, as well as the works cited in note 39. Given the likely date of ÖNB codex 2554, which was probably produced in the early 1220s (see above, note 8), it is not likely that the intended reference was to Louis's crusade as king in 1226. For this crusade see Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude*, pp. 297–324. Also M. Roquebert, *L'Épopée cathare*, 5 vols. (Toulouse, 1970–98), IV: 117–124.

⁴¹ See above, note 8.

⁴² For the theme of Jews and Judaism in the early *bibles moralisées* see Lipton, *Images*, passim.

But the examples gathered and analysed here clearly show that Hausherr's assertion that the crusade played no role in the exegetical programme of the *bibles moralisées* is not tenable. Hausherr himself was not aware of all the crusade references in ÖNB codex 2554 at the time, although he mentioned examples from other *bibles moralisées*, such as two medallions in ÖNB codex 1179 depicting crusaders capturing Jerusalem and Bethlehem.⁴³ He concluded that, since the accompanying texts explaining these two medallions did not mention the crusade as such, but offered an allegorical interpretation of the crusading scene, the theme of crusading did not really play a role. In my view this goes entirely against the specific nature of the *bibles moralisées*, which are distinguished by the fact that words and images are integral parts of one overall text combining several layers of meaning. Thus a crusading scene depicted in an image accompanied by a text offering an allegorical meaning of this scene still says something about the theme of crusading by the fact that the pictorial representation of the crusade is embedded in a biblical context and its moral interpretation. More systematic research – also into the influence of crusade ideology on the overall programme of the *bibles moralisées* – taking into account all the extant examples of the *bible moralisée* might well show that the crusade plays a much more prominent role in this *genre* than has so far been assumed.

⁴³ ÖNB codex 1179, fols. 131v, 205v. See Hausherr, 'Zur Darstellung', p. 213.

PART THREE

The military orders

CHAPTER 14

The Hospitallers in twelfth-century Constantinople

Anthony Luttrell

On 9 November 1163 Pope Alexander III wrote from France, at the request of the Greek emperor Manuel Comnenos, to persuade the Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, Fr Gilbert d'Assailly, to allow the Hospitaller *Petrus dictus Alamannus*, who was *prior hospitalis* of the *domus* or *prioratus* of Saint John in Constantinople, to remain in the imperial capital, where he had spent a considerable time. The Master had recalled Fr Petrus to Jerusalem against Manuel's wishes but the pope pointed out that it was common, and indeed useful, for secular rulers to employ religious men in their service.¹ Fr Petrus, who could have been a German in the wider sense of the term *alemanus* which could include Bohemians, Austrians and others, but more probably came from a Provençal family named Aleman, was also referred to as *S. Johannis Constantinopoleos hospitalis prior*, as *prior hospitalis Constantinopoli* and as *frater Hierosolymitani hospitalis et prior ecclesie B. Johannis Constantinopoleos*;² he was apparently the ruler of the Hospital's house and hospice at Constantinople rather than of a prioral region, and since he was *prior* of the church there he would have been a priest.

Fr Petrus had been sent by Manuel, together with Hugo, abbot of Sancta Maria at Adrianople, to arrange an alliance against the German emperor Frederick I with King Louis VII of France, King William I of Sicily and Pope Alexander III.³ The two envoys may have been with Manuel in Hungary early in 1163 and, perhaps in late spring, they were at Messina where they saw King William who provided an escort of twelve galleys for the 'great

¹ *RHGF* 15: 809–10. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin 1, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1969), p. 578 n. 1, confuses Greek and German emperors and misinterprets Abbot Hugo as a Hospitaller prior.

² *RHGF* 15: 800–1; 16: 54–5 (three letters without date).

³ These negotiations are documented in letters, mostly undated, in *RHGF* 15: 800–1, 801, 803–8; 16: 54–5, 56–7; these sources are analysed, with some additional documentation and hypothetical dates, in P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer: ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*, *Studi storici* 14–18, 22–5, 2 vols. (Rome, 1955–7), II: 88–96.

ship' which then took them to Montpellier. In about June, from Saint-Gilles in Languedoc which was the Hospital's major establishment in the west, the two wrote to the pope reporting that they had been travelling by land and sea with many dangers for six months since January and were, on account of fatigue and other unspecified difficulties, unable to continue their journey. They added, however, that they bore a message which they could reveal only to the pope and to the king. At some point Fr Petrus informed Louis that a papal representative who was with them was seeking to compel them to visit the pope, but that, following Manuel's instructions, they would not do so until they had first seen the king.

On 15 July the pope announced to Louis that he had received a letter from Manuel's envoys at Saint-Gilles and was sending it to the king, together with oral messages concerning a proposal which he did not wish to send in writing. The pope wanted to arrange a meeting at which he and the king could jointly treat with the envoys. On 20 August Alexander wrote from Bourges that, while one envoy had remained at Saint-Gilles on account of an illness which was perhaps of a diplomatic nature, the other had reached him with the message which had been sent on to Louis. On 25 August, following the arrival of the other envoy, Alexander again wrote to Louis about a joint meeting. On 8 September, from Sens, Alexander sent a new message to Louis concerning the proposals which Manuel's envoys had by then conveyed in person to the king and his barons. At some point Raymond V, count of Toulouse, wrote to tell Louis that he and the pope were sending legates to Manuel, mentioning that Manuel's envoys had visited both Louis and Raymond himself; the envoys had met the king by early October. Possibly soon after, they informed Louis that they were about to leave Languedoc but were disturbed that the king's envoys had not brought them royal letters for William of Sicily, to whom they had to travel 'with money'. Perhaps in December, Hugo and Petrus were about to return to Manuel but they were concerned about the dangers; they did not wish that the galleys which were to take them to visit William in Sicily, on what was their only possible route back to the east, should come from Narbonne to Saint-Gilles. Towards the end of the year two envoys sent by Louis to Abbot Hugo informed the king that they had persuaded Manuel's envoys not to leave before 6 January 1164.

The background to these diplomatic exchanges was that Manuel was hoping to receive the imperial crown from Alexander as part of a coalition against Frederick I, who was supporting a powerful anti-pope, Victor IV, in Italy. Nothing, however, came of the proposed alliance, which may also have anticipated Manuel's slightly later suggestions for some kind of return

to union between the Greek and Latin churches.⁴ Manuel meanwhile had sent the message to Alexander III about Fr Petrus, and it was in November 1163 that the pope responded by writing to the Hospitaller Master that the emperor wished Fr Petrus, who evidently enjoyed Manuel's trust, to remain in Constantinople. Manuel did not speak Latin⁵ and Fr Petrus presumably knew Greek. The emperor's use of a Hospitaller as a diplomatic envoy may have been unusual, but both Hospitallers and Templars were employed as envoys by the Latin kings of Jerusalem⁶ and in 1171 Philip of Nablus actually resigned the Mastership of the Temple before leading a royal embassy from Syria to Constantinople.⁷

The Hospitallers' presence in Constantinople, and by extension the reason why a figure such as Fr Petrus was able to play an important role in imperial diplomacy, were the result of the way in which the Order had originated. The Hospital had grown out of a pilgrim hospice founded at Jerusalem in the second half of the eleventh century by a group of Amalfitan merchants. While the Order always maintained a measure of charitable activity, it gradually became militarized during the middle decades of the twelfth century. The Hospitallers may have established a *domus* and a church somewhere in Constantinople at an early date. The Order received, founded or took over a number of hospitals or hospices in Syria and elsewhere in the Levant during the twelfth century.⁸ For much of that time the overland routes passing through Constantinople were in general use for Westerners travelling to Syria, so that a hospice in the imperial capital would have met an obvious demand. The Amalfitan noble Mauro had financed a hospice for Latins in Jerusalem and another at Antioch several decades before the

⁴ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 83–90; B. Hamilton, 'Three Patriarchs at Antioch, 1165–70', in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balar, B. Z. Kedar and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 199–207.

⁵ S. Runciman, 'The Visit of King Amalric I to Constantinople in 1171', *Outremer*, p. 57 n. 16.

⁶ E.g. J. P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 145–6, 151–3.

⁷ M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), p. 82.

⁸ List in M.-L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Kieler historische Studien 21 (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 25–26. G. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, 1st edn, vol. 1 (Rome, 1594), p. 12, mentioned a donation of Atto, count of Abruzzo apparently of c. 1121 which named an otherwise unknown Master of the Hospital called Ruggiero, who should perhaps be ignored: cf. A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Hospitallers', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. S. C. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), p. 50 n. 87. The donation is said to have recorded that Atto had stayed in Hospitaller houses (*case*) in Jerusalem (for a year), Bethlehem, Tyre, Antioch, Alexandria (in Pieria), Limassol, Rhodes and Constantinople. Bosio's second edition (1620), p. 61, dropped Tyre, Rhodes and Limassol from the list but added Acre and Margat. The charter, probably a forgery, may reflect an Italian view of the Hospitallers' eastern hospices.

capture of Jerusalem in 1099, and Mauro's son Pantaleone had a grandiose house at Constantinople.⁹ By the 1060s there was an Amalfitan Benedictine monastery of Sancta Maria at Constantinople which still existed in 1256, but there was also an Amalfitan church of San Salvatore there in c. 1062.¹⁰ The Hospitallers conceivably took over some such Latin foundation at an early date, in much the same way that elsewhere they secured possessions and churches originally destined for the Holy Sepulchre.¹¹

A further factor was Constantinople's location on the route taken by travellers moving between western Europe and the Latin East. Hospitaller brethren themselves presumably used the land route to Syria through Constantinople. This was, for example, the ostensible intention of the Hospitaller sister who left Prague for Jerusalem in about 1188.¹² It was significant that there were donations to the Hospital in Hungary from the mid-twelfth century onwards, especially from King Bela III who was for a time the heir to the imperial throne at Constantinople through his betrothal to Emperor Manuel's daughter Maria and who subsequently married Manuel's sister-in-law, Anna of Antioch.¹³ Given the strength of the philanthropic tradition in Byzantium,¹⁴ there may have been some sympathy for the foundation of a Latin hospice in the capital. Manuel himself had regularly been in touch with Latin rulers in both east and west. It was only after his death in 1180 and the subsequent collapse of Byzantine control in Bulgaria and Serbia that the land route by way of Hungary and Constantinople was increasingly replaced by direct sea travel; in fact the Military Orders had houses along the roads to the Adriatic in Friuli, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Styria and Croatia as well as in western Hungary.¹⁵

⁹ B. Figliuolo, 'Amalfi e il Levante nel Medioevo', in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airdali and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 590, n. 63, 601; A. Beljens, *Aux origines de l'Ordre de Malte* (Brussels, 1995), pp. 64–6, 431.

¹⁰ A. Michel, *Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit, 1054–1090*, *Orientalia christiana analecta* 121 (Rome, 1939), pp. 18–20; M. Balard, 'Amalfi et Byzance (Xe–XIIe siècles)', *Travaux et Mémoires: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* 6 (1976), pp. 85–95.

¹¹ Cf. Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers'. ¹² *Cart.* no. 861.

¹³ Z. Hunyadi, 'The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: Commanderies, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to c. 1400', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 253–4. When in 1170 the future Bela III of Hungary gave the Hospital 10,000 besants, the money may well have been sent to Acre by way of Constantinople: see the detailed account in M. von Walterskirchen, 'Bela III. schenkt den Johannitern Land bei Akkon', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 33 (1975), pp. 102–9.

¹⁴ D. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1968).

¹⁵ K. Borchardt, 'The Military Orders in East Central Europe: The First Hundred Years', in *APC* pp. 250–1; M. Kosi, 'The Age of the Crusades in the South-East of the Empire (between the Alps and the Adriatic)', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders*, ed. Hunyadi and Laszlovszky, pp. 123–65.

The establishment of a Hospitaller house in Constantinople fitted conveniently into the wider context of relations between Byzantium and the Latin East. There had certainly been confrontations between Byzantium and the Latins, while the theory of the crusade and the idea of a Military Order composed of fighting religious was foreign to Greek Orthodox thought and theology. On the other hand, under Manuel Comnenos there was close collaboration, marked by multiple dynastic marriages, between Byzantium and the Latins of Antioch and Jerusalem, and Greek influence in those parts increased considerably. This influence may have had a bearing on the development of the Hospitaller Order in various respects. Conceivably Manuel himself patronized or even founded the Hospitallers' hospital in Constantinople. Such connections may have had some effect on the functioning of the Order's great hospital in Jerusalem¹⁶ in which an Augustinian and Salernitan western background,¹⁷ Arab models¹⁸ and Byzantine procedures¹⁹ may all have influenced the building arrangements, organization, medical practice, dietary régime and liturgical activity. Artistic developments also reflected contacts between the Byzantines and the Hospitallers: contemporary Byzantine influences were present in some Hospitaller buildings in Syria, as for example in the frescoes painted in the church at Abu Gosh which were the work of Byzantine artists, one perhaps from Constantinople, who painted scenes in a Byzantine iconographical style there in the early 1170s.²⁰ There were also personal contacts. For example, in 1173 the Syrian Meletus, Orthodox Greek archbishop of Gaza, was affiliated to the Hospital as a *confrater* and was granted a monastery at Birsheba; on his death, the monastery was to revert to the Order to provide alms and to endow prayers for Meletus, for its benefactors and for Manuel Comnenos, who had possibly financed the repair of the house.²¹

¹⁶ B. Kedar, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', *MO*, 11, pp. 3–26.

¹⁷ S. B. Edgington, 'Medical Care in the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem', *MO*, 11, pp. 27–33.

¹⁸ C. Toll, 'Arabic Medicine and Hospitals in the Middle Ages: A Probable Model for the Military Orders' Care of the Sick', *MO*, 11, pp. 35–41.

¹⁹ T. Miller, 'The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum* 53 (1978), 727–33.

²⁰ A. Weyl Carr, 'The Mural Paintings of Abu Gosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land', in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, BAR International Series 152 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 215–43; L.-A. Hunt, 'Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of "Crusader" Art', *DOP* 45 (1991), 69–85; G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 150–80; J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 382–9. This artistic theme is not developed here.

²¹ *Cart.* no. 443; cf. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 182–3.

The Hospitallers' contacts with Byzantium were to continue. When, in the spring of either 1181 or 1182, the Master and Convent in Syria passed new statutes, the Order's situation in Constantinople probably appeared reasonably stable. One decree established that each year the *prior* at Constantinople should provide the Conventual hospital at Jerusalem with 200 *feautres* or felt coverlets, presumably importations from central Asia.²² This decree implied that the house and hospital at Constantinople had some endowments or incomes. However Manuel had died in September 1180, and there followed a period of confusion and attacks on foreigners during which in 1182 the population massacred those in the *xenodochium quod dicebatur Sancti Johannis*.²³ The effective functioning of the hospital there probably came to an end and, by 1287 x 1292, when a German translation of the 1181/2 statute was copied in southern Germany, the idea that there was a hospital in Constantinople capable of supplying 200 coverlets a year seemed so unlikely that the word 'Constantinople' was actually replaced in the copy by 'Compostela'.²⁴

The Military Orders played no part in the Latin conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders of 1204, but subsequently they were active in Greece. This was especially the case with the Temple, which intervened in Greek affairs during the years after 1204;²⁵ in 1208 the Templars were claiming the church of *Sancta Yomenia* in Constantinople itself.²⁶ The new Latin emperor, Baldwin of Flanders, granted the Hospital one fourth of the notional *ducatus* of Neokastro in Anatolia, possibly in the area of Pergamon, in March 1205,²⁷ but that region did not come under Latin control and the grant was never put into effect. The Hospital did receive various fiefs in the Principality of the Morea, both north and south of the Gulf of Corinth,²⁸ and it may have retained some claim or position in the capital itself during

²² *Cart.* no. 627, dated in Borchardt, 'Military Orders', pp. 250–1; one version of the text gave two *feautres* and another, in the same codex, gave 2000: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. franc. 6049, fols. 68v, 231v.

²³ *WT* pp. 1023–4. ²⁴ Borchardt, 'Military Orders', p. 251.

²⁵ P. Lock, 'The Military Orders in Mainland Greece', *MO*, 1, pp. 333–9; and *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995), pp. 234–6; this Templar activity has not previously been emphasized.

²⁶ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215: 1363.

²⁷ *Cart.* no. 1213 = *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, ed. W. Prevenier, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1964–71), II: 623–4; these and other works have identified *Neocastri* as Navarino in the Peloponnese, but H. Zeininger de Borja, *Les Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem en Grèce continentale* (Madrid, 1958), p. 6; J. Richard, 'The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople: 1204–1227', in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (London, 1989), p. 52; and Lock, *The Franks*, p. 236, opt convincingly for Anatolia.

²⁸ In addition to Lock, *The Franks*, pp. 235–9, see A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la Principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)*, *BEFAR* 213, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969), I: 95, 100, 219 n. 6, 228–9, 243–4; A. J. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Holy War against

the Latin régime there which came to an end when Constantinople was reconquered by the Greeks in 1261. In 1267 Baldwin II, the exiled Latin claimant to the imperial throne, invited the Hospitaller prior of Hungary to serve him with armed men, promising to return to the Hospital all those possessions it had once held in Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire.²⁹ This proposal came to nothing.

There were, however, gains elsewhere. After the conquest of 1204 the Latin emperors founded the new Order of Saint Sampson, which had military components; it was granted the hospital of Saint Sampson in Constantinople and it held possessions elsewhere both in the east and in the west.³⁰ In 1309 the pope incorporated its hospital of Saint Sampson at Corinth into the Hospital, but there was no mention of the hospital at Constantinople which had presumably been lost.³¹ There was a Hospitaller establishment at Corinth in about 1400,³² but the hospital there probably disappeared soon after.

The Hospitallers maintained a presence in Constantinople itself. They apparently still had a church dedicated to Saint John – *une yglise de mon seignor sain Johan de l'Ospital de Jerusalem* – at Constantinople in 1203, when the crusader Matthieu de Montmorency was buried in it;³³ this was possibly the church of Saint John which Fr Petrus had ruled in 1163. The Hospital tried to secure a hospital of Saint George at Constantinople, but failed to do so following the appointment of a papal commission to consider its claims in 1208.³⁴ In 1238 reports reached the pope that the Hospital was actually assisting the Greek emperor John Vatatzes at Nicaea

Christians in the Thirteenth Century', *EHR* 104 (1989), 2–5; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), study II, summarized with some amendments in Luttrell, 'To Byzantio kai hoi Joannites Hippotes tes Rodou: 1306–1409', *Symmeikta* 11 (1997). None of these works gives a complete or satisfactory picture.

²⁹ *Cart.* no. 3252.

³⁰ Richard, 'The Establishment', p. 53. T. Miller, 'The Sampson Hospital of Constantinople', *BF* 15 (1990), 128–30, follows Janin in mistakenly holding that it was the Templars who took over this hospice. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique* 3: 578, states that in 1244 the pope confirmed the Saint Sampson hospital to the *Templariorum Teutonicarum Sancti Samsonis*. In fact, the source, in *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1921), 1: 124, confirmed it to the *Magistro et fratribus sancti Sansonis Constantinopolani*.

³¹ *Cart.* no. 4875.

³² A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West: 1291–1440* (Aldershot, 1978), study IX, pp. 381–2; and 'The Hospitaller Commandery of the Morea' (forthcoming).

³³ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. E. Faral, 2nd edn, *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge* 18–19, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961), 1: 204. Zeininger de Borja, *Hospitalliers*, p. 4, wrongly states that the Hospital acquired the hospitals of Saint Sampson and of Saint John the Almoner at Constantinople.

³⁴ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215: 1362–3 (= *Cart.* no. 1296); Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique* 3: 578, suggests that this hospital of Saint George might have been the Manges hospital.

against the Latins of Constantinople.³⁵ After the re-establishment of Greek rule at Constantinople in 1261, any surviving Latin hospital there may well have disappeared. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there was a church, with a hospital, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist near the seashore in the Latin quarter of Pera, but that was across the Golden Horn from Constantinople and there is nothing to suggest the survival in Constantinople of a hospice or of any connection with the Hospitallers.³⁶ After the first years of the thirteenth century there was, in fact, never any indication that any hospital at Constantinople or at Pera was controlled by the Hospitallers, who after 1309 were established on Rhodes.

The affairs of the Hospitaller house in Constantinople, the importance of which was highlighted by the prominence of Fr Petrus, formed part of a broader picture. In the twelfth century the Hospital had founded or acquired pilgrim hospices in the Levant as well as in western Europe. These included the hospice on the overland route from central Europe to Syria which passed through Constantinople, where the Hospitallers, along with other Latins, often enjoyed good relations with the Greeks. After 1182, however, pilgrims and other westerners increasingly travelled by sea rather than overland through Constantinople, where political conditions had in any case become unfavourable to Latin communities.³⁷

³⁵ *Cart.* no. 2186.

³⁶ C. Desimoni, 'I Genovesi ed i loro quartieri in Costantinopoli nel secolo XIII', *Giornale Ligustico* 3 (1876), 269–71; E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, 'Recherches sur l'histoire de la latinité de Constantinople', *Echos d'Orient* 25 (1926), 35; C. Barsanti, 'Un panorama di Costantinopoli dal *Liber insularum archipelagi* di Cristoforo Buondelmonti', in *L'Arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi*, 1261–1453, ed. A. Iacobini and M. della Valle (Rome, 1999), p. 43 and fig. 1. The references are only to a church and there seems never to have been any indication in the Hospital's surviving archives of any establishment at Constantinople after 1182.

³⁷ It might be speculated, but entirely hypothetically, that Petrus was involved in 1168 when the Hospital and its Master strongly supported an invasion of Egypt: J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)* (Paris, 1904), pp. 67–80; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 71–3. Following obscure dealings with the Latins, Manuel sent a fleet to attack Egypt in 1169: R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 198–202, 309–20.

Serving king and crusade: the military orders in royal service in Ireland, 1220–1400

Helen Nicholson

The military religious orders of the Temple and the Hospital of St John went to Ireland in the second half of the twelfth century with the Cymro-Norman, English, Welsh, Scottish and French mercenaries, colonists and invaders. The military orders were not crusaders, but they always played a significant role in crusades to the east because their headquarters were situated there and because a major function of both the Templars and Hospitallers by the 1130s was the protection of Christian territory in Syria and Palestine. They not only gave military support to crusaders, but also advice on strategy, and sent reports to the west on the military situation in the Holy Land. Their ships carried pilgrims and crusaders to and from the Holy Land, and they lent money to crusaders and provided safe-deposit facilities for crusaders' own money.¹

In Europe, away from the frontiers with the Muslims, the military religious orders held properties and various trading and legal privileges which enabled them to amass money as well as troops, horses, weapons and food,

¹ This chapter is based on a paper presented at the symposium 'Ireland and the Crusades from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century' at University College, Dublin, on 10 September 1999. Some of the material here also appears in my *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), and *The Knights Templar* (Stroud, 2001). The standard work on the Templars in Ireland remains H. Wood, 'The Templars in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 26(C), no. 14 (July, 1907), 327–77; the standard work on the Hospitallers in Ireland is C. L. Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 26(C), no. 12 (March, 1907), 275–317. See also C. Tipton, 'The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 69 (C) (1970), 33–43; at 38–43. On the Military Orders' envoys and newsletters to the west, see in particular R. C. Smail, 'Latin Syria and the West, 1149–1187', *TRHS* 5th ser. 19 (1969), 1–20; at 5, 8, 11, 19; S. D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 24–31, 36–41, 248–52, 256–61; H. J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 105–7; J. P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 9, 104–6, 129, 145. For the Templars' ships, see M. C. Barber, 'Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 314–26, reprinted in his *Crusaders and Heretics, 12th–14th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1995), study xii. For the Military Orders' banking services for crusaders, see, for instance, M. C. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 268–72.

which they sent to the east. Europeans who were concerned about the defence of the holy places against the Muslims but who were not able to go on crusade themselves could make the military orders donations of money or land instead. As the crusade became the highest form of military activity during the course of the twelfth century, an essential part of any royal or noble career, the military orders benefited accordingly. Arguably, the donations of the princes of Wales and kings of Scotland to the Hospitallers were largely prompted by the need to win prestige through supporting the Holy Land, and this would also have been an important motive for the Cymro-Norman marcher lords who came into Ireland in the late twelfth century and established the Hospitallers and Templars there.

The Irish houses of the military orders formed autonomous commanderies or priories within the orders' English provinces. That is to say, there was a master of the Temple for Ireland, and a prior of the Hospital for Ireland, who were responsible for the administration of their orders' houses in Ireland.² It is not clear exactly when the Irish commandery and priory became autonomous, and they were never completely independent from England. For instance, although the orders' officials in Ireland were in theory appointed by the convents in the East, in practice the king of England expected to have a voice in their selection. Whether or not these officials were subordinate to the master or prior of England remained a moot point; they were still subject to visitation from England.³

The kings of England were responsible for founding a few of the houses of the military orders in Ireland. Henry II founded the Templars' house at St Congal at Clontarf, Dublin diocese, Crooke in Waterford diocese and Kilbarry in the same. He also gave them mills and the church of St Alloch in Wexford.⁴ The king was involved in the donation of a church at Ardfinnan in Co. Tipperary to the Hospitallers, and in 1229

² Herbert Wood dated the Templar commandery of Ireland, with its own commander, from around 1186; Caesar Falkiner seems to have regarded the Irish priory of the Hospitallers as dating from 1180, the date of the first known prior of Kilmainham.

³ For instance, the Hospital was visited in 1297–8 by Brother Robert de la Maystre of the English house, by command of the grand master: *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, ed. H. S. Sweetman, 5 vols. (London, 1875–86) (hereafter cited as *CDRI*), iv: 230, no. 495.

⁴ Other properties were given by Matilda de Lacy and (apparently) the O'Mores. The de Lacys were patrons of the order in Britain, and Gilbert de Lacy joined the order between 1158 and 1160. See A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland* (London, 1970), pp. 329–31, 342; *CDRI*, i: 13, no. 85; W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 82, 189, 207.

Henry III granted them the advowson of the church of Chapelizod.⁵ The Hospitallers were also granted charters of liberties in Ireland by King John.⁶

Although the kings of England played only a small role in the establishment of the military orders in Ireland, they made good use of them when they had been established. This royal patronage should, we might expect, have been of great assistance to the military orders in Ireland in helping them to protect their lands and rights and wring the greatest possible profit from them, in order to send greater financial aid to the east. However, in fact the kings of England impeded the military orders in Ireland from giving as much aid to the east as they should have done. In effect, they ceased to serve the crusade and became royal servants.

Members of the military religious orders acted as servants for kings throughout Europe, often acting as royal almoners, or having responsibility for the treasury.⁷ In Ireland, however, individual brothers were given enormous personal authority and power. The head of the English royal administration in Ireland was the justiciar. The justiciar was aided by the treasurer (the office first appears in 1217), a chancellor, who issued writs (the office first appears in 1232), and an escheator (the office first appears in 1250). As in England, the government had no fixed base; it was itinerant

⁵ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland*, pp. 334–42; *CDRI*, 1: 260, nos. 1744, 1746. For donations by the Cymro-Norman Marcher nobility to the Hospitallers in Ireland, see also H. J. Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller on the Frontiers of the British Isles', in *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 47–57, at 51; H. J. Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire', *JEH* 50 (1999), 1–23, at 6–7.

⁶ *CDRI*, 1: 19, 26, nos. 123, 162; for the Templars, see no. 163.

⁷ The literature is extensive. See, for instance, B. Bromberg, 'The Financial and Administrative Importance of the Knights Hospitallers to the English Crown', *Economic History* 4 no. 15 (Feb. 1940), 307–11; M. L. Bulst-Thiele, 'Templer in königlichen und päpstlichen Diensten', in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. P. Classen and P. Scheibert, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1: 289–308; L. Delisle, 'Mémoire sur les opérations financières des Templiers', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 33: 2 (1889); E. Ferris, 'The Financial Relations of the Knights Templars to the English Crown', *AHR* 8 (1902), 1–17; A. Luttrell, 'The Aragonese Crown and the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes, 1314–1332', *EHR* 76 (1961), 1–19, reprinted in his *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West (1291–1440)* (London, 1978), study xi; J. Piquet, *Des banquiers au moyen âge: Les Templiers: Étude de leur opérations financières* (Paris, 1939); A. Sandys, 'The Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple in the Thirteenth Century', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 147–62; J. Sarnowsky, 'Kings and Priors: The Hospitaller Priory of England in the Later Fifteenth Century', in *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 83–102; Nicholson, 'Knights Hospitaller on the Frontiers'; H. J. Nicholson, 'The Military Orders and the Kings of England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 203–18; Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers*, pp. 21–2, 63, 104–5.

and moved around the areas of Ireland subject to the English king.⁸ From the 1230s we find the military orders involved in auditing the accounts of the royal officials, and from the 1270s to the late fourteenth century their members appear as treasurer, justiciar and chancellor.

The military orders in general and the Hospitallers in particular became extremely prominent in the English royal administration in Ireland because the king of England believed that they were reliable and faithful servants, unlike most of the other men at his disposal there. It is clear that the military orders become steadily more significant in the administration of Ireland as the English royal administration faced increasing difficulties of control in the face of Gaelic resurgence and the Anglo-Irish magnates' tendencies towards independence from England.

The military orders first appear in the English royal administrative records for Ireland in September 1220, when Henry III's government instructed the justiciar of Ireland to deposit the proceeds of an aid with the Templars and Hospitallers under their seals. The two orders were then to send it to England, and would be held responsible for it. This responsibility for the care of cash was the sort of duty that the orders regularly performed in England.⁹

By 1234, however, the orders' role had widened considerably. In that year two Templars acted as intermediaries between the royal officials in Ireland and Richard Marshal, who was leading a rebellion. They succeeded in persuading Richard to come to a meeting, but the talks ended in battle, in which Richard was fatally wounded. The Templars therefore failed as negotiators, but had shown themselves to be trustworthy royal servants. Like their care of cash, acting as negotiators or ambassadors for a king was a typical duty of Templars for kings; and during the 1230s the Templars were very much in Henry III's favour, perhaps because of Henry's almoner, Brother Geoffrey the Templar, who was a close friend and trusted servant of

⁸ For the English royal administration in Ireland see, for instance, A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1968), pp. 144–338; K. Simms, 'The Norman Invasion and the Gaelic Recovery', in *The Oxford History of Ireland*, ed. R. F. Foster (Oxford, 1989), pp. 44–79; R. Frame, 'Military Service in the Lordship of Ireland 1290–1360: Institutions and Society on the Anglo-Gaelic Frontier', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 101–26; R. Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100–1400* (Oxford, 1990); *A New History of Ireland*, II. *Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. A. Cosgrave (Oxford, 1993), pp. 89–204, 240–302, 352–96; S. G. Ellis, 'The English State and its Frontiers in the British Isles, 1300–1600', in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. D. Power and N. Standen (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 153–81.

⁹ *CDRI*, I: 147–48, no. 966. For the Military Orders' financial responsibilities in England see the works cited in note 7 above and also B. A. Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents* (London, 1935), p. lviii.

the king.¹⁰ In 1234 Henry III instructed the archbishop of Dublin, Maurice fitz Gerald (the justiciar of Ireland) and the master of the Knights Templar in Ireland that every year after the treasurer and barons of the exchequer had audited the accounts of Ireland, they three were to go to the exchequer, view the accounts, and send a copy to the king.¹¹ Soon after this, however, the master of the Temple in Ireland, Brother Ralph of Southwark, abandoned his habit; and Henry III wrote to the justiciar of Ireland ordering him to arrest Brother Ralph if he arrived in Ireland, and to receive Brother Roger le Waleis as the new master.¹²

Brother Roger le Waleis appears in 1241 or 1242 with the archbishop of Dublin, the archdeacon of Dublin (who was royal treasurer) and Walerand de Wales auditing the accounts of the justiciar, Maurice fitz Gerald; and in June 1243, 1244 and 1250 he was one of those auditing the treasurer's accounts.¹³ In 1253 the master of the Temple in Ireland and the prior of the Hospital in Ireland were named among the auditors of the treasurer's accounts (now Hugh, bishop of Ossory).¹⁴ There is no mention of these officials in this role again, however, until 1270, when the Lord Edward, Henry III's eldest son and heir, appointed the master of the Temple in Ireland and the prior of the Hospital in Ireland as members of a commission to audit the accounts of the treasurer, Hugh of Meath. In 1278 the master of the Temple in Ireland and prior of the Hospital in Ireland were to be present at the auditing of the accounts of the previous justiciar of Ireland; in 1280 and 1281 the master of the Temple in Ireland and the treasurer, a Hospitaller, were among those auditing the accounts of former justiciars of Ireland.¹⁵ In 1301 the Templars appear involved in the collection of 'the new custom of Waterford'.¹⁶ Otherwise they hardly appear in the surviving royal administrative records for Ireland after 1250.

¹⁰ For the Templars and Richard Marshal, see Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols., RS 84 (London, 1886–9), III: 80–7; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., RS 57 (London, 1872–83), III: 273–79. For the Templars as ambassadors for kings, see Bulst-Thiele, 'Templer in königlichen und päpstlichen Diensten'; A. Demurger, *Vie et mort de l'ordre du Temple, 1120–1314*, 3rd edn (Paris, 1993), pp. 255–6; Nicholson, 'The Military Orders and the Kings of England', pp. 206, 210–11 and n. 23; Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers*, pp. 21–2. On Brother Geoffrey, see Sandys, 'Financial and Administrative Importance', p. 150; R. C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III, 1216–1245* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 77, 139–40 and n. 38, 145 n. 64, 146; H. J. Nicholson, 'Steamy Syrian Scandals: Matthew Paris on the Templars and Hospitallers', *Medieval History* 2: 2 (1992), 68–85, at 80–81.

¹¹ *CDRI*, I: 320–1, nos. 2157, 2161. ¹² *CDRI*, I: 336, no. 2264.

¹³ *CDRI*, I: 381, no. 2556, pp. 391–92, no. 2623, p. 403, no. 2703, p. 458, no. 3071.

¹⁴ *CDRI*, II: 36, no. 238, p. 40, no. 266.

¹⁵ *CDRI*, II: 143, no. 881, pp. 282–83, nos. 1485, 1489, p. 345, no. 1678, p. 397, no. 1846.

¹⁶ *CDRI*, IV: 376, no. 825.

The apparent disappearance of the master of the Temple in Ireland from the royal administrative records may reflect the state of the surviving documentation, but it was probably a result of the changing fortunes of the order in the royal administration. While the Templars did not fall out of royal favour, after around 1250 their role in the English administration was reduced. Henry III gave the order fewer gifts, and the brothers appeared less often in the royal administrative records. In contrast, the Hospitallers appeared more often, especially after the accession of Edward I, who appointed a Hospitaller, Brother Joseph de Chauncy, as his treasurer in England.¹⁷ The order received similar favour in Ireland.

In 1274 Brother Stephen de Fulbourn of the Hospital became treasurer of Ireland. From 1280 he acted as deputy justiciar, and in November the following year he became justiciar, a post he held until his death in 1288.¹⁸ William fitz Roger, prior of the Hospital in Ireland, acted as lieutenant justiciar as well as witnessing audits as his predecessor had done and being an itinerant justice.¹⁹ In 1301 and 1302 Brother William de Ros, prior of the Hospital in Ireland, was acting as lieutenant justiciar.²⁰ In January 1322 Roger Outlaw or Utlagh, prior of the Hospital in Ireland (c. 1316–41), was appointed by Edward II as chancellor of Ireland; in 1327 he was reappointed to the post by Edward III; from May 1330 he also acted as lieutenant of John Darcy, justiciar of Ireland, during the latter's absence on the king's service in Aquitaine. Roger Outlaw was replaced as chancellor in February 1331, reappointed in September 1332, and again replaced in July 1334. He was chancellor once more by July 1336, was replaced in July 1337, then reappointed in May 1338. Between his periods of office, in July and August 1332 Outlaw was in England, meeting Brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of England, to discuss the financial crisis within the English and Irish houses of the Hospital; he was sent back to Ireland on the king's business late in August.²¹

¹⁷ Nicholson, 'The Military Orders and the Kings of England', pp. 206–9, 217; for Joseph de Chauncy see, for instance, J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 312.

¹⁸ A short biography of Stephen de Fulbourn is provided later in this chapter, pp. 246–8.

¹⁹ *CDRI*, III: 368–69, nos. 813, 814; *CDRI*, IV: 43.

²⁰ *CDRI*, IV: 363, no. 801; p. 380, no. 826; *CDRI*, V: 1, 5, 81 no. 238, p. 83, no. 239; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records* (London, 1891–1939) (hereafter cited as *CPR*), *Edward I, AD 1301–1307*, p. 291.

²¹ *CPR, Edward II: AD 1321–1324*, p. 46; *CPR, Edward III, AD 1327–1330*, pp. 62, 529; *CPR, Edward III: AD 1330–1334*, pp. 82, 340, 568; *CPR, Edward III, AD 1334–1338*, pp. 305; *CPR, Edward III, AD 1338–1340*, p. 81; *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records* (London, 1892–1963) (hereafter cited as *CCR*), *Edward III, AD 1330–1333*, pp. 575, 594. On Roger Outlaw, see now E. Massey, *Prior Roger Outlaw of Kilmainham, 1314–1341* (Dublin, 2000).

In March 1342 the new prior of the Hospital in Ireland, the English Brother John Larcher (1342–9), became chancellor of Ireland. He was still chancellor in November 1345. He was replaced in May 1346 by John Moryz, but was reappointed in July 1346. The order for his reappointment was repeated in November 1346.²² In the mid 1350s Prior Richard de Werkely (c. 1349–56) was appointed as chief justice, but in June 1356 he was replaced by his predecessor.²³ In the following month Brother John de Frowyk, prior of the Hospital in Ireland (1356–9), was appointed as chancellor of Ireland. He was still chancellor in December 1357.²⁴ By April 1361 Brother Thomas Burley, prior of the Hospital in Ireland (1359–68), was chancellor of Ireland.²⁵ In February 1364 Burley was described as a brother of the ‘Hospital in England’, who was also commander of three commanderies in England, and was being given royal protection for his journey from England to Ireland ‘in the king’s service’, an indication that the king’s officials in Ireland were not continually resident in Ireland. Burley was replaced as chancellor in October 1364, but was reappointed in May 1368. He was still being addressed as chancellor in February 1369, by which time he was no longer prior. A new chancellor had been appointed by July 1370.²⁶

By June 1375 Brother William de Tany, prior of the Hospital in Ireland (1368–83), was chancellor of Ireland. He was replaced by the archbishop of Dublin in July 1376, but in March 1377 he was still acting as chancellor of Ireland. The order for his replacement as chancellor of Ireland was repeated in September 1377. He was reappointed in November 1381, and replaced in June 1383, following his death.²⁷ In April 1388 Brother Richard White, prior of the Hospital in Ireland (1384–c. 1392), was appointed as treasurer of Ireland.²⁸ He had been replaced as treasurer by 27 August 1389, but remained in the government. In February 1391 he was appointed as one of the commissioners to look into the state of Ireland, to discover how Neil O’Neil had come to be released after his capture and to investigate the actions of the justiciar, John Stanley.²⁹

From the appointment of Brother Peter Holt as prior of Ireland (before 1396), however, the prior of the Hospital ceased to act as a royal official

²² CPR, Edward III, AD 1340–1343, p. 395; CPR, Edward III, AD 1345–1348, pp. 10, 154, 211–12; CCR, Edward III, AD 1346–1349, p. 29.

²³ CPR, Edward III, AD 1354–1358, p. 406. ²⁴ CPR, Edward III, AD 1354–1358, pp. 426, 657.

²⁵ CPR, Edward III, AD 1358–1361, p. 580.

²⁶ CPR, Edward III, AD 1361–1364, pp. 457, 459, 472; CPR, Edward III, AD 1364–1367, p. 25; CPR, Edward III, AD 1367–1370, pp. 119, 198, 452.

²⁷ CPR, Edward III, AD 1374–1377, pp. 116, 300–301; CCR, Edward III, AD 1374–1377, p. 486; CPR, Richard II, AD 1377–1381, p. 27; CPR, Richard II, AD 1381–1385, pp. 56, 292.

²⁸ CPR, Richard II, AD 1385–1389, pp. 436, 441, 555.

²⁹ CPR, Richard II, AD 1388–1392, pp. 103, 404–5.

in Ireland. This was inevitable as Peter Holt was hardly, if ever, resident in Ireland. In August 1397 he was given leave by the king to be absent from Ireland until late November or December the following year, and to appoint a proxy in his absence. As turcopolier of Rhodes, one of the conventual bailiffs of the Order of the Hospital, Holt's primary duties were in the East. In August 1400, King Henry IV forbade the prior and brothers of the Hospital in Ireland from going overseas without royal licence, or sending anything out of the realm, but this did not keep Holt in Ireland. When Holt did return to the west, by November 1400, Henry IV gave him permission to remain in England. In Holt's absence, Brother Robert White had taken over as prior in Ireland without Holt's permission. Holt appealed to Henry IV to have White removed, but despite the efforts of Henry IV to restore Holt's authority, White and subsequently his successor Brother Thomas Butler remained in *de facto* control over the Hospital in Ireland. The convent of Rhodes recognized Butler as prior in Ireland in 1410. In 1412 he appears as deputy of Thomas, duke of Lancaster, Henry IV's deputy in Ireland.³⁰

Why did the kings of England give the military orders – especially the Hospitallers – such power and authority in Ireland? Scholars have traditionally assumed that the kings of England employed the Hospitallers in royal service because they were a military religious order and kings valued their military skills. Caesar Falkiner wrote that the Hospitallers and Templars performed many of the duties of a garrison and their commanderies were 'citadels' of English authority in the provinces. 'Those Priors who took an active part in public affairs appear to have joined to their administrative functions the position of a generalissimo of the forces of the Crown', and the knights were seen as part of the royal army. Part of his evidence for this was that the knights were all foreigners – that is, from Britain – with no sympathy for the native Irish.³¹

Much evidence survives to indicate that the Hospitallers who were involved in royal government did take part in active military service. In July 1285 Prior William fitz Roger of the Hospital in Ireland was about to lead the royal army against the king's enemies in Connaught.³² As justiciar of

³⁰ C. Tipton, 'Peter Holt: Turcopolier of Rhodes and Prior of Ireland', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 22 (1964), 82–5; *CPR, Richard II, AD 1396–1399*, p. 190; *CPR, Henry IV, AD 1399–1401*, pp. 354, 372; *CCR, Henry IV, AD 1399–1402*, pp. 225, 227, 373; *CCR, Henry IV, AD 1409–1412*, pp. 286, 401.

³¹ Falkiner, 'Hospital of St John', pp. 296–7.

³² *CDRI*, III: 369, no. 814 (including a force of Welsh).

Ireland, Brother Stephen de Fulbourn likewise led the royal army in Ireland.³³ In 1302 payment of £100 was made in wages to men-at-arms in the company of Brother William de Ros, prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland – who had been acting in place of John Wogan, justiciar of Ireland, who was in Scotland with the king – for the preservation of the king's peace in Leinster. In 1304 the king pardoned a felon because in 1302 he had been with Brother William de Ros fighting against the Irish in the mountains of Glenelory.³⁴ In August 1318 Roger Outlaw or Utlagh, prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland, on account of his good service against the Scots who had invaded Ireland with Edward Bruce, and in compensation for the losses inflicted on him, was, with his brothers, given licence to acquire lands, tenements and rents in mortmain and advowsons to the value of 100 shillings a year.³⁵ In July 1338 Outlaw, now ex-chancellor of Ireland, was petitioning the king for payment of his wages from the time he was acting as lieutenant-justiciar and was chancellor of Ireland, and for the fees and wages of his men from the time he was in the king's service; the request for payment of his men suggests that he had been performing military service.³⁶ In June 1360 an entry in the Close Rolls recorded that the Hospitallers in Ireland 'hold there a good position for the repulse of the king's enemies daily warring upon his liege people'.³⁷ In April 1388 Brother Thomas Mercamston of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland was appointed keeper of the castle of Carrickfergus in Ulster.³⁸

Yet all those who were involved in the royal administration in Ireland had by necessity to lead armies against rebels. The Hospitallers were not the only religious men to be routinely involved in the English royal administration of Ireland: the archbishop of Dublin and other churchmen who formed the backbone of the English royal administration in Ireland would fight in the field as part of their duties of office.³⁹ In 1364 on the appointment of a new chancellor of Ireland, a secular man (one Robert of Ashton), it was recorded that the chancellor must often ride to war and therefore could retain in his service six men-at-arms and twelve mounted archers at the rate of pay usually given to royal troops in Ireland.⁴⁰

³³ *CDRI*, III: 540; *CDRI*, III: 251.

³⁴ *CDRI*, v: 5; *CPR, Edward I*, p. 291; Nicholson, 'Knights Hospitallers on the Frontiers', pp. 53-4.

³⁵ *CPR, Edward II, AD 1313-1317*, p. 197. ³⁶ *CCR, Edward III, AD 133-1339*, p. 437.

³⁷ *CCR, Edward III, AD 1360-1364*, p. 39. ³⁸ *CPR, Richard II, AD 1385-1389*, p. 438.

³⁹ See references above and J. F. Lydon, 'The Years of Crisis, 1254-1315', in *New History of Ireland*, II, pp. 179-204, at 183-84; J. A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish Colony under Strain, 1327-99', in *New History of Ireland*, II, pp. 352-96, here 362-3.

⁴⁰ *CPR, Edward III, AD 1364-1367*, p. 25.

The duties of government also involved peaceful negotiation with the Irish, as Prior Roger Outlaw did in 1332.⁴¹ They also involved enforcing the law against both the Irish and the Cymro- or Anglo-Normans: in 1290 Sir William de Barry and Sir Gilbert de Waleis (both of Cymro-Norman extraction, to judge from their names) complained that Brother William, lieutenant of the justiciar in Ireland, had readily granted the king's peace to Donald Og MacCarthy, an outlaw who had robbed them, without any regard for their interests.⁴² These duties could also involve negotiating with the king's Cymro-Norman enemies, as the Templars had negotiated with Richard Marshal in 1234. Charles Tipton noted that in the fourteenth century the Anglo-Irish Hospitallers were used as interpreters in negotiations with the native Irish, as they understood the Irish language and the royal officials from Britain did not.⁴³

The Hospitallers, therefore, were engaged in military activities in Ireland because of their involvement in royal administration, not because they were a military religious order. In fact, the order generally resisted becoming involved in military activity away from the frontiers of Christendom. The brothers' vocation was to fight Muslims, not other Christians.⁴⁴ Although individual Hospitaller officials did become involved in wars between Christians during the fourteenth century – the prior of France and the castellan of Amposta fought at Crécy in 1346 against the English, where the prior was killed⁴⁵ – in general the order tried to avoid committing its scarce resources to such enterprises.

In all their relations with the military orders, and not only in Ireland, the kings of England saw the brothers as obvious allies and servants because of their own dynastic commitment to the crusade. From Henry I onwards, the kings of England had had a lively interest in the Holy Land and were important patrons of the military orders. Henry II of England planned a crusade to the east, and although he never went in person he sent a total of 30,000 marks (£20,000) to the Holy Land.⁴⁶ His son Richard was a commander of the Third Crusade, and negotiated with Saladin in September 1191 the

⁴¹ *CCR, Edward III, AD 1330–1333*, p. 484; *CPR, Edward III, AD 1330–1334*, p. 325.

⁴² *CDRI*, III: 371, no. 817. ⁴³ Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', p. 40 n. 37.

⁴⁴ A. J. Forey, 'The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth Century', *EHR* 104 (1989), 1–24, reprinted in his *Military Orders and Crusades* (Aldershot, 1994), study vii.

⁴⁵ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre I: Le manuscrit d'Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale no. 486*, ed. G. T. Diller, 5 vols. (Geneva, 1991–8), v: 26, ch. 514 line 55; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques. Dernière rédaction du premier livre: Édition du manuscrit de Rome, Reg. lat 869*, ed. G. T. Diller (Geneva, 1972), CCXXVII, lines 105–20, pp. 737–8.

⁴⁶ For the kings of England and the crusade, see C. J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988). For Henry II and the crusade see also H. E. Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *EHR* 97 (1982), 721–39; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 193–222, 247–64.

Treaty of Jaffa, which secured the existence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem for another century. His brother and successor John took the Cross in March 1215; although modern historians regard this as a well-timed act of political strategy designed to wrong-foot his rebellious barons, Pope Innocent III took his vow seriously.⁴⁷ John's son Henry III took the Cross three times, and although he did not go to the east it did seem very likely in the 1250s that he would commute his vow by going to Sicily himself, or by sending one of his sons, in a crusade to fight the pope's enemies there.⁴⁸ His younger brother Richard led a crusade to the Holy Land in 1240–1.⁴⁹ Henry's sons Edward and Edmund took the Cross in 1268, and Edward set out to join the expedition of Louis IX to Tunisia in August 1270; on Louis's death Edward went on to the Holy Land, where he remained until September 1272 and negotiated a peace with the Mamluk sultan Baibars.⁵⁰ He took the Cross again in 1287, but crises in Britain and France prevented him from going on crusade. His son Edward II took the Cross in 1313 with his father in law, Philip IV of France, and his brothers-in-law, Philip's sons, although for Edward II this was clearly more of a diplomatic move than a gesture representing any real intention to go overseas. Yet he did send one of his yeomen to visit the Holy Sepulchre.⁵¹ Edward III professed a great concern for the crusade, but in the event he was more interested in pursuing his interests in Scotland and France, where his campaigns were promoted as a sort of holy national war, fought in a just cause under the banner of St George.⁵² In contrast, his grandson Richard II seriously considered plans to recover the Holy Land.⁵³ Henry Bolingbroke, Edward III's grandson and Richard's cousin who seized the throne of England in 1399 and became Henry IV, had crusaded in Prussia and gone on pilgrimage to the east.⁵⁴

Because the kings of England were devoted to the crusade, service for the king of England was indirect support for the crusade and could be valuable

⁴⁷ W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1961), pp. 233, 244–6; R. V. Turner, *King John* (London, 1994), pp. 233, 252.

⁴⁸ A. J. Forey, 'The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III', *Durham University Journal*, 65 (1973), 229–47; reprinted in his *Military Orders and Crusades*, study XIII. For the crusades of Henry III and his brother Richard of Cornwall, and his sons, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 198–243.

⁴⁹ For a detailed account of this crusade see P. Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239–41 and their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987), 32–60; see also, for example, H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), pp. 257–8.

⁵⁰ Forey, 'Crusading Vows', pp. 246–47; Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 282; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988); and *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London, 1980), pp. 7–8, 10, 12, 23, 35, 37, 41.

⁵¹ See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 242–6. ⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 246–52, 325–7, 332–3, 340–1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 294–300. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 266, 270–2, 274–6, 279, 282, 284, 286, 296, 303.

for the military orders. The kings themselves would certainly have depicted the situation in this way to the military orders. Edward III believed that his religious subjects should put their loyalty to him before their service to their international religious orders. In 1339 he accused the prior of the Hospital in England of despising his allegiance to the king by sending money overseas (to Rhodes, to assist in the war against the Muslims) and diminishing the Hospital's property, 'which he is bound to employ for the defence of the realm against the attacks of hostile foreigners'.⁵⁵ The prior could have responded that the Hospital's property had been given to it for the defence of Christendom, not England. The prior also argued that he was not bound to give an oath of fealty to the king of England, as he was only subject to the grand master of his order, who was in turn only subject to the pope. Edward, however, insisted that the prior must swear fealty to him. On another occasion, according to the chronicler Jean Froissart, Edward III claimed to be pope in his own kingdom: 'il estoit pappe en son pays et en toutes les terres qui de lui se tiennent'.⁵⁶ While Froissart was probably exaggerating, this sums up Edward III's attitude to the church: its duty was to support the king, God's anointed; by serving the king, the church was serving God. Edward's alleged claim goes a long way towards explaining why the English kings used the military orders in Ireland as they did.

However, it does not explain why the kings of England used the Hospitallers in Ireland in positions of far greater authority and power than they did in England. The enthusiasm with which the kings of England employed the Hospitallers in the Irish administration must be sought within the nature of the English government of Ireland. The overall picture that the surviving records provide of the English royal administration in Ireland is that it was riddled with corruption and inefficiency, and that officials were only interested in enriching themselves and their families. Sometimes this had a direct impact on the Hospitallers' role in government. In 1342 Brother John Larcher, Hospitaller and chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Thomas Wogan were sent by the prelates, earls, barons and community of Ireland to Edward III to complain about the poor state of Ireland, not only because of the attacks

⁵⁵ CCR, *Edward III, AD 1339-1341*, pp. 256-7.

⁵⁶ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893ff.) (hereafter cited as CEPRL), 1: 488; CPR, *Edward III, AD 1327-1330*, p. 531; CCR, *Edward III, AD 1330-1333*, pp. 67, 154-7; CCR, *Edward III, AD 1333-1337*, pp. 363-4, 453; CPR, *Edward III, AD 1364-1367*, p. 404; CPR, *Edward III, AD 1354-1360*, p. 54; CCR, *Richard II, AD 1381-1385*, p. 208; Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre I: Le manuscrit d'Amiens*, 1: 318, ch. 246, lines 29-34.

of the Irish but also because of bad government and abuses by the king's ministers.⁵⁷ On the death of Brother Stephen de Fulbourn, Hospitaller and justiciar of Ireland, in 1288 there were complaints that his records of royal ministers and information regarding possible conspiracies against the royal administration had been removed by the treasurer, Nicholas de Clere, from among the late justiciar's possessions and destroyed, preventing the king from investigating and proceeding against guilty persons.⁵⁸ It appears that Brother Stephen had been trying to stamp out corruption and conspiracy, and that on his death his enemies had acted to prevent their activities being discovered.

The kings of England attempted to deal with the corruption endemic in their administration in Ireland by entrusting positions of power only to men whom they knew they could trust: not to members of the Anglo-Cymro-Norman aristocracy in Ireland, but to lesser men who were the king's natural liege men in the sense that they came from his own realm of England, and who, because they had no power or authority of their own by birth, were dependent on the king for their positions and likely to remain loyal to him. The great majority of the brothers of the military orders in Ireland fell into this category.

The brothers of the military orders in Ireland came from the poorer knightly families and non-knightly families. They were of English, Welsh and Anglo-Irish or Cymro-Irish stock, with very few brothers from outside the British Isles. The masters of the Temple in Ireland mentioned above were from Britain: Ralph of Southwark came from the London area and Roger le Waleis from Wales – although Roger could have come from a Welsh family settled in Ireland, as Walsh was and is the commonest non-Gaelic surname in Ireland.⁵⁹ The records of the trial of the Templars in Ireland indicate that of fourteen brothers, three were from Ireland and nine from Britain (the origin of two was not given). Of the nine brothers from Britain, two were received in Ireland and five in England, one in the east and for one no location was given.⁶⁰ The family of Brother Stephen de Fulbourn of the Hospital presumably originated from the village of Fulbourn in Cambridgeshire, east of Cambridge.

⁵⁷ *CCR, Edward III, AD 1341–1343*, pp. 508–516; Lydon, 'Years of crisis', pp. 190–95.

⁵⁸ *CDRI*, III: 254–57, 290–94; Lydon, 'Years of Crisis', p. 193.

⁵⁹ *CDRI*, I: 336, no. 2264; F. X. Martin, 'Medieval Ireland', in *New History of Ireland*, II, pp. xlix–lxii, at p. lli.

⁶⁰ The interrogations of the Irish brothers of the Temple are recorded in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 454, fols. 134–155, at fols. 134r–150r.

Charles Tipton traced the fortune of the Anglo-Irish brothers within the Hospital's priory of Ireland in the fourteenth century and deduced that for the first half of the fourteenth century the priors were Anglo-Irish, but from 1342 to 1384 the priory was controlled by priors of English extraction, many of whom are known to have continued to hold English commanderies even after becoming prior of Ireland.⁶¹ It seems clear that the kings of England after 1342 wanted brothers from Britain as priors of the Hospital in Ireland, because they wanted only men from Britain in positions of authority in the royal service. After 1342 they did not use the Anglo-Irish brothers as chancellors, and only the Anglo-Irish prior Richard White received a prominent position as treasurer.

Another reason for employing members of the military orders as royal servants was that, as religious, they were expected to have high standards of personal morality, and in addition, because they had no children and in-laws to provide for, they had less motivation to build up a private fortune. The military orders in particular should be highly trustworthy, for their vocation required them to set their eyes on the earthly and/or heavenly Jerusalem rather than on their own advantage.

Finally, because the military orders had to move cash from Europe to the Holy Land in order to support their military activities in the east, and because of their banking services for crusaders, they were widely recognized to be responsible and efficient at handling and storing cash. The banking services of the Templars in particular are well known, but the Hospitallers also had this reputation. As the king of England's main interest in Ireland was how much money he could extract from it, it was natural to use the military orders in the administration.

All in all, the military orders seemed an ideal source of royal administrators. In fact they were not. The career of Brother Stephen de Fulbourn is the most obvious example of a member of the military orders who won royal confidence, and who used this power to acquire wealth and influence for himself and his family. Stephen was a priest-brother of the Hospital and he was promoted to high office in the Hospital in England: in 1268 he was preceptor or commander of Clerkenwell, and in 1269 he was treasurer and acting as lieutenant of the prior of England, Brother Roger de Veer, while

⁶¹ Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', 38-43. See also *Registrum de Kilmainham: Register of Chapter Acts of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, 1326-1335, under the Grand Prior, Sir Roger Outlawe, with Additions for the Time of his Successors, Sir John Mareshall, Sir John Larcher and Sir John Fitzgerald, Grand Priors of Ireland. Edited from the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 501*, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1932), pp. ix-xii.

the latter was in the Holy Land on the order's business. Brother Stephen was clearly well respected within the order for his financial skills and efficiency, for the master and convent in the east decided to single him out for personal reward: in 1270, Brother Hugh Revel, master of the Hospital, with the assent of the convent and the approval of Brother Roger de Veer, issued a charter allowing Brother Stephen to retain for his own use for life all the property he had acquired or might acquire by his prudence for the Hospital, and leasing him the order's mills on the Thames in London for an annual rent of ten pounds sterling.⁶²

Brother Stephen first appears in the surviving records in an Irish context on 5 September 1270, when Queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III of England, appointed Brother Stephen de Fulbourn, Hospitaller, and John du Bois as her proctors and messengers in Ireland.⁶³ Stephen did not stay in Ireland after his visit of 1270, for in October 1273 Brother Stephen de Fulbourn and William de Middleton were collectors and receivers of the twentieth granted to the king in England in aid of the Holy Land, while by May 1274 these two men had been appointed to assess a tallage on certain Jews of the realm of England.⁶⁴ In June 1274, Brother Stephen de Fulbourn, priest, was elected bishop of Waterford at the request of King Edward I.⁶⁵ He continued to act with William de Middleton in assessing and levying the tallage on the English Jews, but by the start of December 1274 they had been joined by one Brother Luke, Hospitaller.⁶⁶ Presumably by this time Brother Stephen was resident in Ireland, for in September 1274 he had become treasurer of Ireland. His career was henceforth based in Ireland. From 1280 he acted as deputy justiciar, and in November the following year he became justiciar, while still acting as treasurer. His brother Walter and nephews Adam, Andrew and John joined him in Ireland; Walter, Adam and John appear in the royal administration. In August 1283 Walter became chancellor of Ireland – he was already dean of Waterford and lieutenant to his brother the justiciar. In 1285 Walter was treasurer of Ireland. He also

⁶² CPR, Henry III, AD 1266–1272, pp. 190, 348; CPR, Edward I, AD 1272–1281, p. 117, 5 April 1270. On Brother Stephen de Fulbourn as lieutenant-prior see also *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England*, Part 2: *Prima Camera: Essex*, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford, 1996), p. lxx n. 43; p. 198, charter no. 205 and note. Brother Stephen is listed as one of the past priors of the Hospital in England in the Order's English cartulary, BL MS Cotton Nero E vi, fol. 467v, printed in *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda Camera: Essex*, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford, 1982), p. 571, where he is named Stephen de Fulburn and it is stated that he died on 1 January.

⁶³ CDRI, 2: 144, nos. 885, 886.

⁶⁴ CCR, Edward I, AD 1272–1279, pp. 34, 83, 106; CPR, Edward I, AD 1272–1281, p. 30.

⁶⁵ CDRI, II: 174, no. 1009. ⁶⁶ CCR, Edward I, AD 1272–1279, p. 140.

became bishop of Meath.⁶⁷ Brother Stephen went on to become archbishop of Tuam (before Easter 1287). He died on 3 July 1288.⁶⁸

In around 1285 Edward I had ordered a report to be drawn up on Brother Stephen's administration. The report stated that Brother Stephen had absolute power as justiciar, governing with the assistance of his brother Walter: 'They are everything and without them there is nothing.' A Hospitaller acted as treasurer, but he was almost completely ignorant, and the justiciar pocketed his annual fee of £40. It was impossible to get office within the administration without giving the justiciar a gift of land. Correct procedures were not followed in recording the receipt and issue of money: the justiciar 'causes it to be carried whither he pleases and no chamberlain knows'. The report contains a section on 'How the bishop of Waterford, justiciar of Ireland, becomes rich.' In the closing section on the state of Ireland, it is remarked that the Irish cause 'little wars' in the land because they have no confidence in the justiciar and his officials.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the king did not dismiss Brother Stephen, although he did appoint a new treasurer, Nicholas de Clere.

This survey of his career suggests that Brother Stephen was promoted because he was an experienced and efficient administrator, both in his own order and in the English royal service in England, and the king believed that he could trust him in high office. However, even religious men had families, and Brother Stephen provided generously for his brother and nephews.

One method of combating empire-building among royal administrators in Ireland was to replace officials frequently, to ensure that no one man could build up power and influence. This was clearly English royal policy from the 1320s onwards, by which period the Anglo-Irish colony was, to use J. A. Watt's expression, 'under strain'. We see brothers of the Hospital given high office for short periods, sometimes only a year, sometimes a few years. They were often reappointed several times with gaps of a year or a few years between appointments, so that they had experience and knowledge of the office but – in theory, at least – were unable to build up the sort of 'empire' that the Fulbourns had created in the 1280s.

⁶⁷ *CDRI*, II: 177, no. 1034, p. 407, no. 1883, p. 489, no. 2114, and see the index entries for a summary of Stephen's and Walter's careers, pp. 726–8; *CDRI*, III: 10 ('Walter de Fulbourne, appointed as Bishop of Meath, now holds the office of Chancellor'); pp. 37 (no. 90), 254 (Adam de Fulbourne); pp. 257–8 (Adam and Andrew de Fulbourne); p. 290, no. 593 (Adam de Fulbourne); p. 293, no. 593 part 8 (Adam and Andrew de Fulbourne); pp. 446–7, nos. 997–8 (John de Fulbourne). See also Lydon, 'Years of Crisis', p. 191.

⁶⁸ *CDRI*, III: 180–1, no. 406; for Brother Stephen as archbishop of Tuam see pp. 135 (no. 307), 317, and see also the index, p. 652.

⁶⁹ *CDRI*, III: 1–15, no. 2; esp. pp. 1, 2, 3–4, 5, 12–14, 15; Lydon, 'Years of Crisis', pp. 191–3.

How far were the close connections between the military orders in Ireland and the kings of England beneficial to the brothers? It is clear that royal demands frequently interfered with the demands of the orders in the east. In 1275 Brother William fitz Roger, prior of the Hospital in Ireland, was ordered by Edward I to proceed to Ireland because his presence there was essential to the king and to Ireland. Brother William had claimed that he had been summoned to the east by Hugh Revel, master of the Hospital, but Edward commanded him to go at once to Ireland on pain of forfeiture, promising to excuse him to the master.⁷⁰ In April 1365 Pope Urban V asked Edward III to assist the prior of England, the lieutenant prior of Ireland and certain commanders of the Hospital in England and Ireland in obeying the summons of the marshal of the Hospital to the General Chapter at Carpentras, to discuss the defence of Rhodes and other areas under attack from the Turks. He also wrote summoning the individual priors and commanders. As I have not found any indication that the king of England issued any licences or safe-conducts for brothers of the Hospital to travel overseas, it appears that they could not have gone.⁷¹ In March 1377 Brother William de Tany, prior of the Hospital in Ireland and chancellor of Ireland, was requesting permission to come to England on the business of the order, concerning which he had been instructed by the master on Rhodes to deal with the prior of England. He was given leave, but told that he must appoint a deputy in his absence.⁷² In 1383 Brother William de Tany was summoned by his order to a general chapter. In December of this year he was given licence to come to England to do business with the prior in England, but as no licence survives permitting him to go overseas it does not appear that he attended.⁷³

There is also some indication that the king of England restricted the Hospitallers in Ireland from paying their responsions, the portion of their income that should be sent to the east, and other dues to their order. In 1338 Prior Roger Outlaw was forbidden by King Edward III to send any money out of the realm. In 1345 Pope Clement VI asked King Edward III to allow the priors of the Hospital in England and Ireland to collect money in the realm and send it to the master and convent in Rhodes, but there is no evidence that this was permitted.⁷⁴ On the contrary, in August 1348 Brother John Larcher sent Brother Hugh Larcher and Brother Philip de Stafford of the Hospital in Ireland, with Andrew Gerard, to Rhodes on the

⁷⁰ *CDRI*, II: 200, no. 1146. ⁷¹ *CEPRL*, vol. IV (London, 1902), pp. 15, 52.

⁷² *CCR, Edward III, AD 1374–1377*, p. 486.

⁷³ Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', p. 35; *CPR, Richard II, AD 1381–1385*, p. 344.

⁷⁴ *CCR, Edward III, AD 1337–1339*, p. 290; *CEPRL*, vol. III (London, 1897), p. 18, no. 9.

order's business. The king instructed that they be allowed to leave England, but they were not allowed to take any money out of the country except for their own expenses.⁷⁵ In December 1375 Pope Gregory XI wrote to the priors of the Hospital in England and Ireland instructing them to send troops and money to the east. The English contribution was paid in March 1376; there is no evidence for the Irish contribution, but it is possible that it was paid at the same time.⁷⁶ In January 1380 the prior of England and Brother Robert de Normanton paid the Irish priory's responsions to the convent of Rhodes.⁷⁷ Otherwise evidence of payments of responsions is lacking. All in all, serving the king of England did not help the Hospital's war in the east and could impede it; but the order had no choice as to whether it served the king or not.

Arguably, however, during the crises of the order of the Hospital in the fourteenth century, service for the English king did at least ensure that the Irish priory of the Hospital remained under the control of the grand master and convent in the east, and did not become insular and inward-looking. While the Anglo-Irish Hospitallers were tied to the service of the English king and depended on him for protection of their privileges, the focus of the Irish priory was towards England, and it could not break away from the English priory and the order as a whole. When the Anglo-Irish Hospitallers were no longer tied to the service of the English king, as was the case after Richard White ceased to be treasurer of Ireland, *c.* 1389, the Irish priory followed its own policies and ceased to give obedience to the English priory and to the convent on Rhodes.⁷⁸

Yet the Anglo-Irish Hospitallers themselves would not have agreed with this interpretation of their position, arguing that the English priors exploited the Irish priory and drained its resources, making it less able to pay its dues to Rhodes. In June 1360 the Hospitallers of Ireland complained to Edward III that the alienation of many of their lands and rents in Ireland by the late prior, John de Frowyk, had prevented them from supporting the Hospital on Rhodes effectively, as well as preventing them from assisting in driving back the king's enemies in Ireland. Similar complaints were made against William de Tany.⁷⁹ The fact that in 1410 the convent on Rhodes

⁷⁵ CCR, *Edward III*, AD 1346–1349, pp. 554, 558. For the similar situation in England see: CCR, *Edward III*, AD 1333–1337, p. 643; AD 1337–1339, p. 140; and AD 1341–1343, pp. 137–8.

⁷⁶ CEPRL, iv: III, 141; CCR, *Edward III*, AD 1374–1377, p. 333.

⁷⁷ Malta, National Library, Archives of Malta (hereafter cited as AOM), 48, fol. 35v (new foliation).

⁷⁸ Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', pp. 40–2. On the 'English of Ireland' see Watt, 'Anglo-Irish Colony', esp. p. 352; and on Edward III's preference for English as administrators in Ireland, see p. 371.

⁷⁹ CCR, *Edward III*, AD 1360–1364, p. 39; Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', p. 39; AOM 321, fol. 138r–v (old foliation) 147r–v (new foliation).

allowed the Anglo-Irish Hospitallers to elect their own prior indicates that the convent supported their position and regarded the domination of the English king and the English priory as detrimental to the Irish priory and the order.⁸⁰

It was the special circumstances and problems of the English royal administration in Ireland that led to the military orders becoming so extraordinarily prominent in the English royal service in Ireland. Because the brothers were religious men, accustomed to dealing with money, some of them already experienced in the royal administration in England, and belonging to orders whose members were the faithful servants of kings across Europe, the kings of England believed that they could trust them when they could not trust anyone else. Their connection with the crusade, to which all the kings of England were devoted at least in theory, gave them an additional link to the English monarchy. For crusade historians, it would be satisfying to be able to say that through being governed by members of the military orders, Ireland contributed indirectly to the crusade effort. However, service for the king of England did nothing for the orders' own commitment to the defence of Christendom, and whatever the kings of England might claim, it did not promote the crusade. The military orders of Ireland did send some money and men to the east, but not through any aid from the king of England, who preferred them to remain in Ireland. It must be admitted that most of the brothers of the military orders in the British Isles probably preferred to remain within the British Isles. The evidence from England indicates that by the late thirteenth century entering the military orders in England was as much a route into the royal service as a means of helping the Holy Land, and it is likely that this was also true for brothers who served the orders in Ireland.⁸¹

Outsiders paid little attention to the military orders in Ireland. They are seldom mentioned in the chronicles. While one Arthurian romance of the 1270s refers to an Irish king and Irish knights crusading in the Holy Land, the military orders are not mentioned.⁸² The Templars of Ireland do appear in the adventure romance *Sone de Nansay*, written in the 1270s, but they are

⁸⁰ Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', pp. 39, 41–2.

⁸¹ See Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers*, p. 61; and 'The Military Orders and the Kings of England', pp. 216–18; and for Ireland, see Tipton, 'Irish Hospitallers', p. 38.

⁸² London, British Library, BL Add. MS 25434, fols. 150c, 151d–155b (*Les Prophéties de Merlin*); cited by L. A. Paton, *Les Prophéties de Merlin, edited from MS 593 in the Bibliothèque municipale of Rennes*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1926), 1: 407–9; *Les Prophéties de Merlin (Cod. Bodmer 116)*, ed. A. Berthelot (Cologne and Geneva, 1992), pp. 301, 304, 305–7, 308, 323–4, 147Rb, 148Vb, 149Rb–150Ra, 150Rb, 158Va–159Ra.

Table 1. *Roles played by brothers of the military orders in the English royal administration in Ireland, 1200–1399*

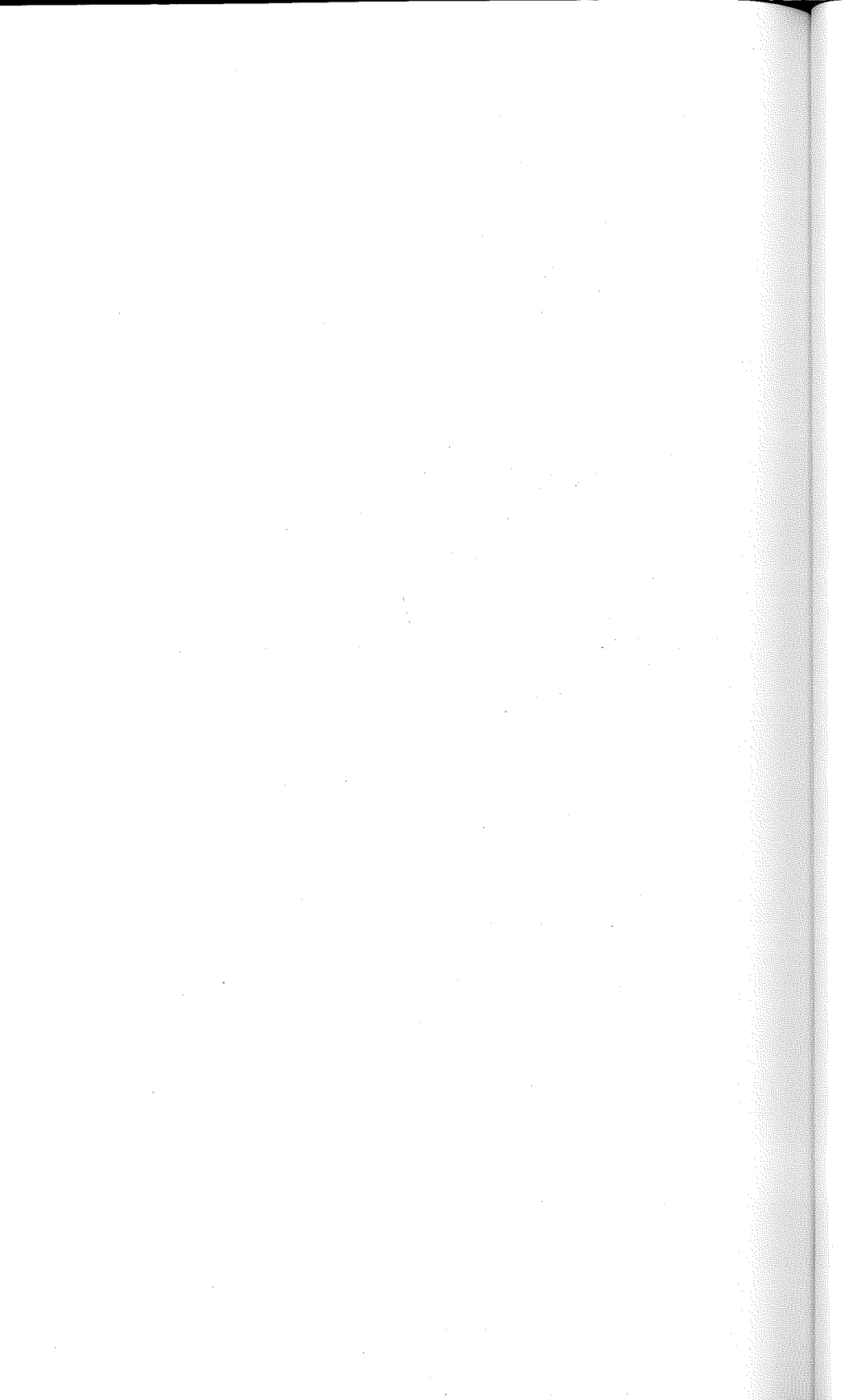
Date	Function				
	Tax collection	Auditing	Justiciar	Treasurer	Chancellor
1200–9					
1210–19					
1220–9					
1230–9					
1240–9					
1250–9					
1260–9					
1270–9					
1280–9					
1290–9					
1300–9					
1310–19					
1320–9					
1330–9					
1340–9					
1350–9					
1360–9					
1370–9					
1380–9					
1390–99					

not involved in crusading. Instead, they are assisting the queen of Ireland in her love affairs.⁸³ It seems appropriate in view of the evidence discussed here that the military orders of Ireland in the late thirteenth century were better known for assisting the monarch than for promoting the crusade.

⁸³ *Sone von Nansay*, ed. M. Goldschmidt, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 216 (Tübingen, 1899), lines 6372–916; H. J. Nicholson, 'Knights and Lovers: The Military Orders in the Romantic Literature of the Thirteenth Century', in *MO*, 1, pp. 340–45, at pp. 340–1; C. Lachet, *Sone de Nansay et le roman d'aventures en vers au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1992), lines 57–8, 96–8, 122, 130, 239, 305, 395, 474, 477, 485, 576 n. 133, 659, 703–6, 718, 750.

PART FOUR

Retrospective



*The First Crusade in post-war fiction**Susan Edgington*

Can a historical novel tell us anything about the experience of crusading? The question might seem redundant, yet a number of critics and historians have argued that the chief value of historical fiction is that it can reconstruct the *mentalité* of a past time in a way that is not available to the historian. In the essay which follows this proposition will be examined, and then applied to fiction relating to the First Crusade which has appeared since the Second World War, much of it during the ninth-centenary commemoration, 1995–9.¹ There are two additional reasons why academic historians should pay serious attention to the proliferation of historical fiction. Firstly, postmodernist developments in criticism and historiography have exposed the fictional elements in all historical writing, and so an examination of the interplay of historians and novelists is timely. Secondly and more importantly, the reading public – which includes the people who find their way into our classes and read our books – are more likely to have read historical novels than scholarly monographs. If we wish to understand their perceptions and misperceptions, then we should be aware of the works which engender them.

It may be argued that the process of fictionalizing the First Crusade began even before the capture of Jerusalem in 1099: tall stories about the siege, capture and battle of Antioch appear to have been circulating in the crusaders' camp at the time, and they found their way into the narrative accounts. Pre-eminently they were worked into the epic poem known in a later version as the *Chanson d'Antioche*.² Other poetic works – the *chansons* of the first and later 'crusade cycles' – were ever more remote from the reality

¹ A complete list of the works of fiction discussed, with bibliographical details, appears at the end of this chapter.

² S. B. Edgington, 'Romance and Reality in the Sieges of Antioch, 1097–8', in *Porphyrogenita: Essays in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook and J. Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 33–46; M. Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), 101–22.

of events, and made liberal use of the imagination, a trend which continued to the sixteenth century and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, 'a romantic tale of chivalry, love and magic within the more familiar story of Godfrey of Bouillon'.³ Meanwhile, writers of contemporary prose accounts drew on the same legendary sources, to the extent that Albert of Aachen's *Historia* was described by the Victorian historian of the crusades, Thomas Archer, as the first historical romance: 'that form of narrative where historic truth decks itself out with all the pomp and trappings of her sister, Fiction'. He called it 'the first specimen of quite a new style of historical literature, one that has given pleasure to a greater number of readers than any other that has ever existed'.⁴ But although Albert's account appealed to Archer as a kind of early historical novel, it should be appreciated that none of the contemporary accounts was innocent of an admixture of legend.⁵

Therefore when Sir Walter Scott wrote *Count Robert of Paris* (1831) he was writing in the comparatively new genre 'novel', but at the same time as part of a long tradition of history-writing in which the 'story' element was predominant. Robert Irwin has pointed out that Scott certainly drew on Tasso as well as the histories of Gibbon and Mills. The structure Scott built on these foundations Irwin characterizes as 'a series of implausible romances and valiant encounters in Constantinople at the time of the First Crusade', concluding: 'Abysmally plotted and slackly written, *Count Robert of Paris* is a pot-boiler of curiosity value only.'⁶ Nevertheless we may regard it as the true ancestor of the novels under discussion in this essay, for it takes itself seriously, with an apparatus of footnotes, a glossary and three appendices. Its major characters include historical ones, fictional ones, and the eponymous crusader whose career is fabricated around a single mention in Anna Comnena.⁷ Finally it stands or falls on its interpretation of the crusade itself, and, as Irwin has shown, the attitudes of the characters are nineteenth-century attitudes, while their motivation is hard to fathom since Scott consistently discounted the importance of religion.

Scott's lifetime witnessed the beginning of the divergence of the two components of history, in shorthand 'fact' and 'fiction', and the genesis of

³ C. J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (London, 1998), p. 108.

⁴ T. A. Archer, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Scottish Review* 26 (1895), 274–95, at 293.

⁵ Edgington, 'Romance and Reality', p. 45.

⁶ R. Irwin, 'History, Fiction and Film: Islam Faces the Crusaders', paper read at the *Segundas Jornadas Internacionales Sobre la Primera Cruzada. La Conquista de la Ciudad Soñada: Jerusalem*, Huesca, September 1999. The proceedings are in course of publication by the conference organizer, Dr Luis García-Guijarro Ramos.

⁷ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937–45), II: 229–30.

history as an academic discipline. Leopold von Ranke is usually credited with instigating this evolution, and his pupil Heinrich von Sybel applied the methods of Ranke and the Berlin school specifically to the First Crusade. He wrote at length on the work of Albert of Aachen, and found it wanting in respect of his 'indispensable condition': 'In every historical narrative we require that the facts should be accurate as regards time and place; and that it should not destroy its own value by contradiction.'⁸ Sybel's detailed analysis of the text indicted Albert again and again of failing to reconcile the inconsistencies within and between the different witness statements which made up his narrative. Sybel's conclusion was: 'With regard to the history of the First Crusade, the result of my inquiry is that Albert and all his companions seldom adhere to the truth.'⁹ An equally detailed examination of William of Tyre, which was largely admiring of his method and his style, resulted in a judgement which is oddly at variance but equally damning:

William of Tyre represents a phase which, in the literature of every nation, immediately succeeds the development of legendary tales: the distinction between historical and poetic creations disappears; the writer attempts to unite the former with the latter. He does not perceive that the truth of the one and the poetry of the other are thus lost.¹⁰

William's twentieth-century biographers recognized in William more than the artistic ineptitude Sybel condemned: 'William was not writing history for history's sake. Behind the attractive story-telling and the theological or secular interpretations of past events lies a didactic purpose.'¹¹ But these biographers were writing in full knowledge of the historiographical tradition of which Sybel was a founding member; Sybel's observations about the necessity of evaluating the original sources may be said to mark the beginning of a properly historiographical approach to the First Crusade as surely as Scott's novels generated a succession of historical romances. It should perhaps be stressed here that both genres, history and romance, derive from a common literature, and all attempts to define a space between them have been unconvincing. Thus when David Lowenthal writes in his otherwise excellent analysis, 'Each genre has encroached on the domain once exclusive to the other; history has grown more like fiction, fiction like history', he is working from a faulty premise.¹² In the Middle Ages there was no fixed boundary between history and fiction, and though in theory

⁸ H. von Sybel, *The History and Literature of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. Lady Duff Gordon (London, 1881), p. 164.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 237–8.

¹¹ P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 170.

¹² D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 227.

they were recognized as different literary genres, in practice they borrowed freely one from the other.¹³

The two literary genres co-exist uneasily, and the nature and terms of their co-existence have exercised the minds of many writers. It should be recognized that even today history and fiction do not exist in parallel (meeting only at infinity); still less have their paths diverged. Rather they occupy the same ground, for as long as works of history rely on narrative they will draw on the devices of the novel, while fiction continues to be inspired and informed by the recorded past. 'Fiction criticizes history while cannibalizing it; history derogates fiction's claims while adopting fictional insights and techniques.'¹⁴

Herbert Butterfield was the most enthusiastic advocate of the historical novel in the twentieth century; he saw it as having a role in inspiring an interest in the past:

For the novelist . . . it is more important to depict the past as a world different from our own, and to show something of its character and colouring than to map out a particular path in that world and to track down a particular course of public events. It is more important for him to breathe the spirit of a bygone age, and to make his book the stuff of its mind, and recapture its turns of thought, its fund of feeling, and all its waywardness than to chronicle events with precision and keep tight to all the big political happenings. The supreme thing for him is to catch the age as a synthesis, to reproduce its way of looking at the world, its acceptance of life, and the peculiar quality of its experience, rather than to relate things which actually happened.¹⁵

Butterfield's reference to 'things which actually happened' is an overt challenge to the Rankean exhortation to recount the past 'wie es eigentlich gewesen',¹⁶ and others too have seen novels as 'truer' to the past than histories: in his extraordinary examination of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Isaiah Berlin wrote:

How can we escape the conclusion that the histories which exist represent what Tolstoy declares to be 'perhaps only .001 per cent of the elements which actually constitute the real history of peoples'. History, as it is normally written, usually

¹³ See N. F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 194–211; G. M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), pp. 102–3.

¹⁴ Lowenthal, *The Past*, p. 228. Cf. H. V. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 5–11.

¹⁵ H. Butterfield, *The Historical Novel: An Essay* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 95–6.

¹⁶ Quoted in A. Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (London, 2001), p. 62. The phrase appeared in the preface to Leopold von Ranke's first book, *Geschichten der Romanischen und Germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (Leipzig, 1824), p. vii.

represents 'political' – public – events as the most important, while spiritual – 'inner' – events are largely forgotten; yet *prima facie* it is they – the 'inner' events – that are the most real, the most immediate experience of human beings; they, and only they, are what life, in the last analysis, is made of; hence the routine political historians are talking shallow nonsense.¹⁷

Berlin was presumably unaware when he wrote his essay in 1953 that he was in broad agreement with the Marxist critic Georg Lukacs, who admired historical novels, and those of Scott above all, for giving 'living human embodiment to historical-social types'.¹⁸ Lukacs believed that: 'Scott, in sharp contrast to the post 1848 development of the historical novel, *never modernizes* the psychology of his characters.' His stirring conclusion was as follows:

The great task of the historical novel is to *invent* popular figures to represent the people and their predominant trends . . . It is natural that bourgeois historiography in general as a discipline of the ruling classes, should have consciously neglected, omitted or even slanderously distorted these factors of popular life. Here is where the historical novel, as a powerful artistic weapon in defence of human progress, has a major task to perform, to restore these real driving forces of human history as they were in reality, to recall them to life on behalf of the present.¹⁹

Butterfield, Berlin and Lukacs make strange bedfellows indeed, in their belief that the novelist can convey the *mentalité* of an age in a way that a historian cannot. If we accept that this is a worthy aim among novelists, then we must ask whether it is capable of achievement, or if indeed the novelist will inevitably commit that greatest of crimes against the people of the past, the 'psychological anachronism' deplored by the *Annales* school.²⁰

Helen Cam in her survey of historical novels for the Historical Association (1961) expressed the belief that 'They can be for some, if not for all, students of history a stimulus to the imaginative and critical faculties and an education in human sympathies.'²¹ Further she claimed that, 'Historical fiction is not only a respectable literary form: it is a standing reminder of the fact that history is about human beings.'²² Cam concluded by defining the rules of engagement:

The historical novelist has resources . . . from which the scientific historian is debarred. He may fill in the lamentable hiatuses with his own inventions. But he

¹⁷ I. Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox* (London, 1953), p. 15.

¹⁸ G. Lukacs, *The Historical Novel*, was first composed in 1936–7 and published in Russian. It appeared as *Der historische Roman* (Berlin, 1955) before the English edition (London and Boston, 1962).

¹⁹ Lukacs, *Historical Novel*, p. 317.

²⁰ See J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd edn (London, 2000), p. 180, and below, n. 53.

²¹ H. M. Cam, *Historical Novels* (London, 1961). ²² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

must keep the rules. His inventions must not be incompatible with the temper of his age – its morals and its psychology no less than its material conditions – and they must not be incompatible with the established facts of history.²³

To put it more succinctly: the historical novelist may employ the 'not known to be true', but not the 'known not to be true'.²⁴

When, nearly thirty years later, Irene Collins agreed to edit a new guide to historical fiction for the Historical Association she undertook the task with apparent distaste:

The Association has nevertheless wished to offer some guidance to the many people who are convinced – sometimes as a result of Helen Cam's advocacy – that historical fiction can be a valuable aid to historical appreciation, but who are bemused by the vast number of titles crowding the shelves of bookshops and bookstalls, often with lurid dustjackets and sensational publisher's announcements which cast doubt upon any seriousness of purpose.²⁵

In the course of the review, Collins arrived at a useful categorization which may be summarized as follows: (1) novels which purport to be about the past but have no sense of history; (2) novels which set 'stereotyped or anachronistic' fictional characters against a well-researched background; (3) novels with well-researched backgrounds and sympathetically drawn characters. Only the last, she averred, will allow historical issues to be examined.²⁶

Thus twentieth-century critics, whether idealists or pragmatists, have acknowledged the persistence of the historical novel and bowed – with varying degrees of enthusiasm – to the need to agree guidelines for its evaluation. Two commentators have written studies focusing on the First Crusade. Theodore Steinberg, writing in 1982, took as his guide the Marxist critic Georg Lukacs, who defined a good historical novel as one which presents 'an artistically faithful image of a concrete historical epoch', and expected it to 'demonstrate by artistic means that historical circumstance and characters existed in precisely such and such a way'.²⁷ The four writers whom he measured against this dictum were Duggan, Oldenbourg, Davis and Oz, all of them discussed below. In a more recent study Robert Irwin (peculiarly well suited to the task as both a historian and a novelist) was especially interested

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁴ Jill Paton Walsh, quoted by Kevin Crossley-Holland in *The Guardian*, 28 February, 2001.

²⁵ I. Collins, *Recent Historical Novels* (London, 1990), p. 5. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁷ T. L. Steinberg, 'The Use and Abuse of Medieval History: Four Contemporary Novelists and the First Crusade', *Studies in Medievalism* 2 (1982), 77–93, at 77, quoting Lukacs, *Historical Novel*, pp. 19, 43.

in 'the ways in which novelists who wrote about the crusading past were influenced by the historians they read, but . . . also . . . the possibility that the historians' views of their subject may have been unconsciously influenced by images and stereotypes derived from historical novels'.²⁸ Irwin examined the First-Crusade novels of Scott, Duggan, Oldenbourg and Hoban. The heart of his essay, in every sense, is a warm appreciation of Hoban's work, based on personal acquaintance with the author. The five twentieth-century novelists discussed by Steinberg and Irwin are among the first works discussed here; they are followed by an evaluation of other contributions to the sub-genre, mainly written in English and French, many of which were inspired by the ninth centenary of the first expedition, 1995–9. The approach is thus roughly chronological by date of publication.

Knight With Armour was Alfred Duggan's first book, published in 1950 when the author was forty-seven. In the book's blurb it was billed as the story of an 'ordinary' English knight and his journey: 'years of hunger, thirst and constant danger'. Later in his career Duggan was asked why he chose to write about obscure periods and places, and he claimed 'that the scantiness of sources made research less laborious'.²⁹ But this was disingenuous: Duggan had quite clearly read narrative histories of the First Crusade, as well as travelling extensively in the Middle East, and consequently the account was convincing in detail. It is readable because Duggan achieved a degree of empathy with his hero Roger, perhaps as a result of his own privileged upbringing (Eton, Balliol) and war service. Irwin has pointed out that Duggan was especially good at castles and horses, having been familiar with both since infancy.³⁰ On matters of motivation, it accorded with the ideas of the time, notably that the expedition attracted the 'landless younger son'. Steinberg has pointed out, correctly, that the hero, Roger, has little religious motivation; the most important thing in his life is his oath of fealty, which he keeps with 'blind devotion'.³¹ This could certainly be seen as a flaw – and several of the books reviewed below are criticized on the grounds of understating the importance of religion – but it can alternatively be read as Roger's tragedy: that he fought and died for a cause he never came close to understanding.

Duggan returned to the First Crusade for his last book, *Count Bohemond*, which was published posthumously in 1964. This was a fictionalized

²⁸ Irwin, 'History, Fiction and Film', above, n. 6; see also Irwin, 'Saladin and the Third Crusade: A Case Study in Historiography and the Historical Novel', *Companion to Historiography*, ed. M. Bentley (London, 1997), pp. 139–52.

²⁹ Evelyn Waugh, preface to Duggan, *Count Bohemond*, pp. 6–7.

³⁰ Irwin, 'History, Fiction and Film', above, note 6. ³¹ Steinberg, 'Use and Abuse', p. 79.

biography of Bohemond's life before as well as during the First Crusade. (Duggan is said to have been planning to write a fictional biography of Tancred, which would have completed the story of Bohemond.) This book was as well researched and well imagined as his first, and again he seemed at home in the world of the Norman knight. The two books are considered models of historical fiction, sustaining a coherent picture of the past and offering plausible motives for their characters. Rather than answering all questions, they encouraged the reader to find out more, and could inspire a genuine interest in the crusades. Indeed, a number of historians and others admit that Duggan's books were their point of departure for an interest in the crusades, in spite of Steinberg's belief that: 'Fortunately, Duggan's writing is often so clumsy that it is difficult to imagine his having many readers.'³² Steinberg believes it is 'fortunate' because both Duggan's heroes – the fictional Roger and the real Bohemond – distort the past by always being 'a proper English gentleman'.³³

Meanwhile in America the prolific novelist Frank van Wyk Mason had turned his attention to the First Crusade in 1955 with a novel, *Silver Leopard*. Mason, born in Boston in 1901, had served in the US Army in both world wars, but also had a fifty-year writing career (1928–78) in the course of which he produced over fifty titles. Expectations of this novel are raised by the foreword: 'So little remains of the scant literature and contemporary records of that day that hardly any major new facts have been incorporated in this account despite arduous research', and, 'The author . . . consulted a great majority of the eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts preserved in the Vatican and in the British Museum.'³⁴ These expectations are soon suppressed, however: 'Considerable care has been taken to temper descriptions of the almost incredible brutality, ignorance, poverty and filth prevalent in the Europe of those times', the author wrote, and he referred to the crusaders as 'iron men', thus identifying his main resource as Harold Lamb's popular account *The Crusades: Iron Men and Saints*.³⁵ But Lamb cannot be held responsible for Mason's elaborations. Where Lamb described the mercenaries who made up the imperial cavalry as 'bearded Slavs, pagan Betchenaks from the steppes, and Turcoples who were Turks from near-Asia', Mason has a passage about the activities of the 'imperial recruiting officers':

Therefore ugly, stunted-looking Betchenak, Patzinak, Sclavonian and Seljuk barbarians appeared by the thousand to swell the ranks of Christendom. There were

³² *Ibid.*, p. 81. ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 80. ³⁴ Mason, *Silver Leopard*, pp. vii–viii.

³⁵ H. Lamb, *The Crusades: Iron Men and Saints* (London, 1930).

no Christians among them, only moon-worshipping pagans or Moslems. The only things these men held in common were bravery, a more than bestial cruelty and an insatiable desire for loot.³⁶

Nor does the ludicrous plot owe anything to Lamb. The back-cover blurb ends thus: 'Every Crusader had a woman. For Edward de Montgomerie there were two. The fair Alixe de Bernay, betrothed to him in purity but left behind; and Sibylla, a Duke's concubine, passionate, willful and very much at hand.' Edward also has a twin sister, Rosamund, who keeps losing her clothes, and who takes time out to invent the brassière. Even the pure Alixe is described as curvacious, and all the women are apt to pose artlessly in diaphanous gowns, silhouetted against the light. Mason heaps anachronism on absurdity, from Edward's first appearance clutching a rosary, through the albino leopard in central Normandy to the cactus growing in Palestine. Fortunately it is impossible to believe anyone would take the novel seriously, so historical errors, like Daimbert fighting at Arkah or the twenty-one Genoese galleys at Jaffa may be dismissed with the rest of this farrago.

A second American work acknowledging a debt to Lamb, Frank X. Hurley's *The Crusader*, published in 1974, presents a great contrast to Mason's *Silver Leopard* – but without being more readable. Hurley (b. 1940) was not a professional novelist like Mason, but an aerospace engineer and this novel was his first and apparently his only venture into fiction. It achieved no great popularity and is almost unobtainable today.³⁷ This is not hard to explain: the book is barely a hundred pages long, and the plot is so fragmentary and elliptical that it is difficult even for someone familiar with the First Crusade to follow. The hero is not usually referred to by name but as 'the monk-knight', although, apart from being able to read, monkish qualities are not at all evident; indeed there is no depth of characterization. Even Hurley's publishers were lukewarm in their support for him, concluding the dustjacket blurb: 'All in all, the action and the characters make for quite an exciting and psychologically stimulating novel.'

Christopher Davis's *Belmarch: A Legend of the First Crusade* was published in the same year as Duggan's *Count Bohemond* (1964). It is, however, a very different work, not because it is less well researched – Davis acknowledged using A. C. Krey's book of eyewitness accounts³⁸ – but because its focus is entirely dissimilar. Belmarch is a fictional character, a footsoldier who has killed a child during the slaughter of the Jews in Mainz in 1096. The

³⁶ Lamb, *Iron Men*, p. 87; Mason, *Silver Leopard*, p. 216.

³⁷ The secondhand copy acquired for this review had apparently spent twenty-five years in a seminary library without once being borrowed.

³⁸ A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants* (Princeton, NJ, 1921).

child bit his hand and now, fevered, he hallucinates, seeming destined to relive the event endlessly. This is a powerful book which raises (but cannot answer) questions about individual responsibility, drawing on images from the Holocaust. Davis is an American (b. 1928) who had previously published conventional modern novels; his first, *Lost Summer*, appeared in 1958. The Jewish experience links three successive novels by Davis: *Belmarch*, *The Shamir of Dachau* (1966) and *Ishmael* (1967).

Like Davis, Russell Hoban was born in Pennsylvania (1925), and his first book was also published in 1958. However, Hoban is both more prolific – he has produced over fifty children's books – and better known: *Turtle Diary* (1975) established his popularity with an adult readership, then he demonstrated his linguistic ingenuity in *Riddley Walker* (1980), set in a post-Armageddon landscape. Hoban's novel of the First Crusade, *Pilgermann* (1983), is both compelling and demanding: at the same time it demonstrates the simultaneity of events and it follows a strictly linear narrative, the story of a Jew who is castrated in the Rhineland pogroms and then undertakes his own pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which ends in the siege of Antioch. Hoban's understanding of the historical sequence of events is secure, but not laboured. Irwin has demonstrated the thoroughness of Hoban's historical research, and there is also evidence that Hoban has considered the role of historical fiction, and especially the way it can explore the potential as well as the actual and the virtual.³⁹ More important is the descriptive power of the prose, shifting between physical and metaphysical. It is a disturbing book, which needs to be read more than once. It is, perhaps, reductive to call it a historical novel, for it transcends the genre just as *Riddley Walker* transcends science fiction.

In his novella *Crusade* (1971), the Israeli writer Amos Oz (b. 1939 in Jerusalem) tells of a small band of crusaders which sets off in orderly fashion in 1096 and gradually disintegrates into nightmare and madness. The story is short – fewer than ninety pages – but atmospheric; even in translation it speaks powerfully of death and decay. Like Davis, Oz has chosen a gentile protagonist. The Count's paranoid fear of the Jews (one of whom cursed him as he was burnt alive in the summer before they set out) pervades the tale. It also ensures the Count's destruction, but the irony of this is not laboured by Oz.

These three novels by Jewish writers, it is scarcely necessary to say, share a powerful vision which is as much about twentieth-century history as it

³⁹ J. Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: The Remembered Past*, 3rd edn (New Brunswick, NJ, 1994), pp. 124–7; Hoban, *Pilgermann*, pp. 42, 113–14.

is about the First Crusade. To seek a historiographical context is therefore almost irrelevant, but clearly they are in the mainstream tradition which identified the Rhineland pogroms as the first outbreak of anti-Semitism in Europe and traced a direct descent to the Holocaust of the 1930s. Norman Cohn exemplified this line of thought.⁴⁰ More recent work, pre-eminently by Robert Chazan, has challenged the idea that the attacks on the Jews in 1096 constituted a seminal event in this way, without invalidating the significance of the attacks as part of the medieval Jewish experience.⁴¹ This said, a knowledge of crusading history will add to, not detract from, engagement with three fine novels.

Zoé Oldenbourg occupies the magisterial place in French historical fiction that Duggan holds in English. *The Heirs of the Kingdom* was published in 1971, a translation of *La joie des pauvres* (1970). Oldenbourg was born in Petrograd in 1916, but emigrated to France at the age of nine. There she had a career as a painter before turning to writing. Her first novel was *Argile et cendres* (1946), which also had a crusading theme but referred to a later period (English translation: *The World is Not Enough*). Twenty-five years later Oldenbourg not only shifted her attention to the First Crusade, but she also took the humblest pilgrims as her characters, rather than the petty nobility of the earlier book. Oldenbourg is consistently described in blurbs as novelist *and* historian (rather than a historical novelist), and five years before *The Heirs of the Kingdom* she published a general history of the crusades.⁴² In the non-fiction account Oldenbourg emphasized 'the victimization of the poor and the relative safety of the rich' (publisher's blurb), and it is reasonable to infer that the inspiration for the fictional account grew out of this insight. Oldenbourg herself rather pre-empts critical discussion in a preface to *The Heirs of the Kingdom*:

This is not a historical novel. Neither is it history dressed up as fiction, or even a historical pageant. It is not a work of scholarship, nor has it involved the author in extensive academic research . . . A novel is a portrayal of the human condition. Call this one hallucination, dream, epic, statement, or enquiry: only cease to think of it in the context of 'history'. For the rest, students of history may take comfort: the events described in the book are true. In fact, I believe that the picture I have given of the 'poor', about whom historians are always so niggardly of information, comes very near the truth.⁴³

⁴⁰ N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957), p. 285.

⁴¹ R. Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), pp. 210–22; see also Chazan, *God, Humanity and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000).

⁴² Zoé Oldenbourg, *Les croisades* (Paris, 1965), trans. A. Carter as *The Crusades* (New York, 1966).

⁴³ Oldenbourg, *Heirs of the Kingdom*, author's note.

Subsequently Oldenbourg wrote a massive modern novel (*La joie-suffrance*, 1980, about Russian émigrés); a book of philosophy, 'but not in the crude sense of the word' (*Que nous est Hécube*, 1984); and about her own life – but she denied that *Le procès du rêve* (1982) was autobiography. The reluctance to be classified, to conform to genre, has been consistent. But despite Mme Oldenbourg's strictures, it would be a pity not to have considered her book here, for it is generally regarded as 'an effective and powerful historical novel'.⁴⁴

Les âmes brulantes was the first novel of Jean-Michel Thibaux, published in 1983. Thibaux, born in Toulon, has subsequently established a reputation as author of romantic novels set in Provence. *Les âmes brulantes*, however, languished out of print until the recent vogue in France for novels of the First Crusade. Consequently, and perhaps unfairly, the novel's sub-plot seems rather familiar. Alongside a history of the expedition from a Provençal point of view, with a cast-list of historical characters led by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, there are fictional participants, among them a young knight Guigo de Signes who yearns for adventure. His love for Bérengère, whom he has left at home, is cast into doubt when he falls for the Norman Roxane, and Bérengère's subsequent embarkation to join Guigo further complicates the situation. There is the benign influence of the elderly Jew, Moïse Ben Choûlam, and the sinister presence of Richard du Périgord. This lesser drama unfolds in the shadow of the greater events of the First Crusade, and these are narrated with a fair degree of historical accuracy and considerable descriptive power. The Provençal bias is faithfully projected onto Guigo.

Like most of his compatriots in this essay (but not Oldenbourg), Thibaux presents a scholarly apparatus, including over thirty footnotes, mostly explaining archaic words. There are a four-page chronology, a three-page bibliography and five maps.⁴⁵ It would appear from his bibliography that Thibaux used only books available in French, for he lists Chalandon, Grousset, Pernoud, and Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (1953). Strangely, he claims to have consulted Matthew of Edessa in manuscript, Anna Comnena in Leib's edition, Fulcher and the *Gesta Francorum* (no editions given), but not Raymond of Aguilers at all, even though he is a character in the novel. Most of the books listed were written before the middle of the twentieth century, and only two after 1970. However, the range of titles includes several on anthropology and local history, and Thibaux's research reflects the long influence of the *Annales* school in French historical education. Although the invented characters, especially the women, act

⁴⁴ Steinberg, 'Use and Abuse', p. 84.

⁴⁵ Thibaux, *Ames brulantes*, pp. 401–12.

with an anachronistic amount of independence, this book is one of the more admirable attempts to bring the First Crusade to life for the general reader.

Jeanne Bourin produced a pair of books: *Les pérégrines* and its sequel *Les compagnons d'éternité*. Mme Bourin is a Parisian who read history at the Sorbonne. Her first novel appeared in 1963 – *Le bonheur est une femme* – and it was followed by *Très sage Héloïse* (1966), *La dame de beauté* (1970) and *La chambre des dames* (1979). The research for and writing of this last novel, set in the reign of St Louis, took Bourin seven years; it was prefaced by Régine Pernoud and enjoyed great success, being translated into seven languages. This book and its sequel, *Le jeu de la tentation* (1981), were televised in France. She then produced a book on medieval cuisine (1983) and three more historical novels before *Les pérégrines*; followed by a book on medieval gardens (1990) before *Les compagnons d'éternité*. In 1993 Bourin co-authored a book for children which drew on her research on the First Crusade: *L'ami Séraphin* is set in Constantinople in 1097. Bourin is highly respected, the recipient of many prizes, an adjudicator for others, and the inaugurator in 1987 of *Le Grand Prix Littéraire de la Femme*, which is awarded to a work whose principal character is a woman.

One theme of Mme Bourin's œuvre is clear from the above resumé: she is interested in women's history. Not surprisingly, the 1970s mark a watershed in her writing, as she moved from writing about women as objects of men's desire (the Salviati sisters, Héloïse, Agnès Sorel) to writing about them as people in their own right. It is not unreasonable to see the influence of feminism in this shift. However, Bourin has also moved from heroines who existed in history to imagined female protagonists for the *Chambre* pair of books and the *Pérégrines* pair. This may certainly be read as an attempt to create heroines with an autonomy which is not to be found in the historical sources, but it also reflects another change in Bourin's interests: both pairs of books deal with a different stratum of society, the world of merchants and artisans. The *Pérégrines* pair traces the daily life and experiences of three daughters of a parchment-maker of Chartres during the First Crusade and the early years of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It is not entirely successful: the reader is prevented from becoming fully absorbed by the constantly shifting focus, from one sister to another, and by an awareness that the three are a didactic construct, demonstrating three choices for twelfth-century women, rather than having the randomness of real historical people. Nevertheless, the books are responsibly written: each has a select bibliography listing primary and modern works, which would serve as a guide to further reading.

The French tend to view the crusades as an entirely French phenomenon, and this is reflected in the number of historical novels on the First Crusade published in France during the ninth centenary of the expedition. One of these is *Dieu le veult*, by Anne Courtillé (1995). The author is an academic, a lecturer in art history, writing in Clermont a novel published in the centenary year of Urban's council there. She follows the fortunes of an imaginary lord and his vassals, and their interaction with historical figures. The publisher's blurb refers to their 'loves and hates' and to the Middle Ages being 'astonishing in their life and passion'. Courtillé's own background shows in her descriptions of the splendour of the oriental world, and also, perhaps, in her critical apparatus: a map showing the routes of the crusaders; a foreword placing the crusade in its historical context, and footnotes throughout, mainly glossing unfamiliar words. The foreword begins with a short definition of *crusade* by Jean Favier but leans more heavily on Georges Tate, archaeologist and orientalist, whose lavishly illustrated little book in the *Découvertes Gallimard* series appeared in 1991.⁴⁶ In case this should raise expectations, though, it has to be said that the crusade is an elaborate setting for romance (to quote the blurb): 'Sans oublier pour autant Agathe, qui – le croit-il – attend son retour en Auvergne, Hugues connaîtra l'amour avec la si belle Sancha, épouse du cruel Byzantin Isodoro.' (Agathe, of course, has made her way to the Holy Land.) It is a matter of judgement whether in this novel Courtillé has succeeded as her publishers claimed for her previous two-volume novel, *Les dames de Clermont*: 'la rigueur historique sait se cacher derrière la romanesque de l'aventure'.

A second novel published in 1995 is entitled *1095: Le clair obscur*. Like Courtillé, author Jacques Céron researched his novel in Clermont, but his story ends with the pope's announcing the crusade rather than beginning that way. Céron's scholarly apparatus is even more elaborate than Courtillé's: maps of France and the Auvergne; a glossary of archaic words; biographies of 'primary' and 'secondary' characters (with a note on research methods and several family trees; twenty-four pages in all), and a select bibliography which cites general works by Bloch, Duby, Pernoud and Pognon, along with – particularly – G. Fournier's book on the rural population of the lower Auvergne.⁴⁷ The prologue, which is also the back-cover blurb, is an extended quotation from Guibert of Nogent about the evils which afflicted France in 1095: brigandage, lawless greed, and above all famine which

⁴⁶ G. Tate, *L'orient des croisades* (Paris, 1991).

⁴⁷ G. Fournier, *Le peuplement rural en Basse Auvergne durant le haut moyen âge* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1962).

affected everyone from the poorest to the rich.⁴⁸ These domestic ills are the theme of the novel, which deals mainly with a month in the lives of the arms-bearers of the Auvergne.

A third novel written in the same region and with a local hero is Dominique Baudis's *Raimond d'Orient* (1999). At the time of writing Baudis was deputy mayor of Toulouse, but previously he had served as television correspondent in the Middle East, and this experience, together with an impressive (though chaotic) bibliography, informs his writing. Baudis's protagonist is Raymond of Saint-Gilles and so we follow his expedition from Toulouse to his death outside Tripoli. Baudis is sound on the narrative, and especially clear on the internal and external politics: 'Les seigneurs francs rivalisent et se haïssent. Ils découvrent un Orient plus compliqué que prévu: les ruses des Byzantins, les luttes entre Turcs et Arabes, Sunnites et Chiïtes' (blurb). His touch is less sure on other aspects of *mentalité*; for example, the book is punctuated by letters from Raymond to his son Bertrand – would he really have written them in his own hand? The book ends with Raymond's last letter, summoning Bertrand to capture and rule Tripoli, but the author seems reluctant to let go, and the 'end' is followed by an epilogue summarizing the careers of Raymond's descendants in the east, up to Raymond III. With greater authorial assurance Baudis might have elected for the more artistic close, leaving his reader to investigate what happened next. Yet this is a well-researched and readable account of Raymond's career. Although there are a few invented characters – underlings with names like 'Vent d'Autun' and 'Petit-Gris' – it is faithful to the known course of events.

The same cannot be said of Claude Rappe's two books following the career of Godfrey of Bouillon. The first of them, *Godefroy de Bouillon: l'héritier maudit* (1991), is concerned with his life before the crusade; it ends with the words 'Dieu le veut.' However, much of the action revolves around Godfrey's (invented) love-life. He has not one but two mistresses – and then at the Council of Piacenza both are forgotten when he and the Byzantine Anna Comnena fall in love . . . This entirely fabricated love affair is the driving force of the second book, *Dieu le veut!* (1999): 'par amour pour une princesse byzantine [il] va franchir les Portes de l'Orient, accompagné de quelques milliers de "fous de Dieu".' We are told that Rappe is a playwright who has organized spectacles at Bouillon castle, that he works for Luxembourg television, and that he is passionate about history. Clearly

⁴⁸ Cf. Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 127A (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 118, 120.

the 'dramaturge' in Rappe has got the better of the 'historien passionné' in these books (quotations from the publishers' blurb). They are not harmless entertainment, but positively misleading, and the more so because they include the same elaborate apparatus as more respectable novels: Rappe has included chronologies, genealogies, maps, and bibliographies.⁴⁹ The second volume has a list of Godfrey's companions and a glossary of archaic terms.⁵⁰

Also published in 1999 was *Les chemins de Jérusalem*, by Jacques Bouineau and Didier Colus (1999), which tells the story of the crusade from the point of view of a young kinsman of the count of Toulouse, sixteen-year-old Foulques. The characters include historical personnages, pre-eminently Raymond and Adhemar, and imagined ones, including 'Renaud le bâtard, son double opposé et troublant... et... Anne, l'amour plus fort que l'amour de Dieu lui-même' (blurb). This strikes a false chord, and it is clear that in spite of a lively narrative and well-researched background, the authors are dealing with modern emotions, underestimating religion and projecting modern notions of romantic love onto the characters. Nevertheless, the narrative is engaging. The expedition is a rite of passage for Foulques, and the story ends with his watching Godfrey's men capture Jerusalem. A sequel is promised, entitled *Les poulains du royaume*, which will bring together the same characters.

Two novels of very different pretensions appeared in 2001. *Jérusalem fiancée des gueux* was the first novel of Martine Lascar. The author has a degree in classics from the Sorbonne and works as a teacher. Her book dispenses with elaborate appendices – it does not even have a map – in favour of a short historical introduction, which, rather surprisingly, sets the scene in the context of the reforming papacy. It is a very clear exposition of the Investiture Contest and the religious situation on the eve of the councils of Piacenza and Clermont. Lascar acknowledges the influence of Jean Flori.⁵¹ The structure and content of the novel which follows are equally unusual: it alternates extracts from an apocryphal 'chronique d'André' with chapters introducing the characters and recording their discussions. The characters are the 'gueux' of the title: a pair of preachers, a merchant, a knight and a 'jongleur', along with 'tout un petit peuple de mercenaires, artisans, écuyers, lavandières, maraudeurs et ivrognes' (blurb). Other than the pope, a version of whose speech at Clermont is reproduced, there are no major real-life players. Nor is there any attempt to describe the scenery or the conditions

⁴⁹ Rappe, *Godfrey*, pp. 321–6. ⁵⁰ Rappe, *Dieu le veut*, pp. 337–49.

⁵¹ Probably J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris, 1999).

of the journey. The book is all about the crusaders' motivation and explores aspects of popular religion, starting with the persecution of a heretic in the monk André's first extract, before he meets his fellow travellers. We find later that he has read a despatch from Matthew of Edessa, which is an awkward artifice, but enables a discourse on the complexities of Christianity in the east. However, the lesser people are never going to see Jerusalem. They attack the Jews and are attacked in turn by the Hungarians. The book ends with a description of their fate in a letter supposedly sent by a Byzantine official to the imperial archives, along with André's manuscript. There is obviously not going to be a sequel. Although the mechanism which drives this narrative is far from invisible and its clanking occasionally becomes obtrusive, the book is a brave and honest attempt to examine the phenomenon of the First Crusade. It covers the same ground as the works by Davis and Oz and it merits discussion alongside them.

Michel Peyramaure is a prolific and well-established writer who has written on many periods of history in the course of a forty-year career. In 2001 he produced 'Le roman des croisades', *La croix et le royaume*. There are few explicit clues as to his research process: apart from two maps the only appendix is a two-and-a-half-page list of Peyramaure's previous works, from which it appears that he lives in the Limousin.⁵² The book covers the whole period from 1095 to 1187; approximately the first third deals with the first expedition to the election of Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem; a dozen pages later Godfrey is dead. The contrast with Lascar's book is striking. Peyramaure's has a cast of historical characters and is emphatically a novel of action rather than thought. It follows the known course of events; it has robust characterization, and it gives some weight to the enemy's point of view. The touch is generally assured – though one doubts if the young and lovelorn Anna Comnena really stalked Bohemond in the crusaders' camp. There is a sequel, *Les étendards du Temple*, which takes the story to 1291.

In this survey of the numerous French contributions to the genre it is possible to discern in them a shared and distinct approach, which borrows from French historiography, specifically the *Annales* tradition. This is explicit, for example in Céron's bibliography, but also implicit in their endeavour (with few exceptions) to integrate events with the social and economic climate, to recreate the *mentalité* of eleventh-century France, and to avoid the 'psychological anachronism' which Lucien Febvre, co-founder (with Marc Bloch) of *Annales*, identified and condemned as long ago as

⁵² Peyramaure, *La croix*, pp. 397–9.

1938.⁵³ These are worthy aims for historical novelists, but for the reader there is a paradox: the more successfully the author portrays an alien *mentalité*, the more difficult it is to engage with it, to empathize with the characters, and to comprehend their motivation. If the book succeeds as history it may fail as novel.

The number of novels published in France greatly outweighs the English-language contribution to the genre, and other languages hardly feature at all. There appears to have been a single qualifying work in German: Dieter Breuers, *Sterben für Jerusalem: Ritter, Mönche, Muselmanen und der Erste Kreuzzug* (1997). This is not strictly a novel, but a retelling of the story through a series of thirty-one vignettes featuring different fictional characters. The author, formerly a student of history and now a journalist, has produced two previous books of medieval history in similar format. Although some narrative drive is sacrificed as a result of the frequent shifts in perspective, by tracing the stories of five main characters Breuers makes a serious attempt to examine the complexity of motives, experiences and reactions of disparate groups, represented by a woman, a monk, a knight, a footsoldier, and a eunuch from Damascus. The author's research is demonstrated by a short chronology, four maps, an index of proper names and a gazetteer.⁵⁴ The book merited the success marked by the issue of a paperback edition in 2000. However, a Spanish counterpart which proclaims itself the 'La Novela de las Cruzadas' and 'La mejor historia jamás contada de las Cruzadas' is less impressive. *El Viaje Prodigioso: 900 años de la primera cruzada* is the result of a collaboration between Manuel Leguineche, a celebrated journalist and writer, and María Antonia Velasco, a novelist (1995). This may explain why it fails to engage, for it is too pedestrian and self-conscious a retelling to make an inspiring novel, starting as it does with a long preamble about the causes of the crusade and ending with Baldwin I's death in the 'Arish, escenario de las batallas entre Nasser y el general tuerto Moshe Dayan.'⁵⁵ Such contemporary references, however well intentioned, wrench the concentration and add nothing to the reader's understanding of the crusade. At the same time the book offers too little evidence of supporting research to read as popular history: although the senior author refers to research in dusty libraries and there are references to chroniclers in the text, there are no notes, no bibliography and only a single perfunctory map.

The first of the English-language novels to mark the ninth centenary appeared in 1996. It was *A Booke of Days* by Stephen J. Rivelle. This 'journal

⁵³ L. Febvre, 'History and Psychology', in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, ed. P. Burke (London, 1973), pp. 1–11; originally published in *Encyclopédie française*, vol. VIII (1938).

⁵⁴ Breuers, *Sterben*, pp. 314–35. ⁵⁵ Leguineche and Velasco, *El Viaje*, p. 324.

of the crusade' sustains throughout the fiction that it was written by 'Roger, duke of Lunel' and only 'edited and translated' by Rivelle (who more usually spells his name Rivele, but has changed it for reasons of artistry). The deception is elaborate and unflagging but ultimately it is unconvincing (an early mention of jacaranda is a give-away). This knight can not only write, but can do so in Provençal. He writes obsessively and explicitly about sex, occasionally describing battles or the plundering of cities for a change, in a way that is totally unfeasible for anyone in the eleventh century. Rivell(l)e (b. 1949) lives in California and previous books were about the American Civil War, the Mafia and the CIA. He has written films, including co-writing the script for *Nixon* (directed by Oliver Stone). This perhaps accounts for the cinematic mixture of sex and violence which he has produced in this novel.

Two other American contributions to the genre weigh in at opposite ends of the seriousness scale. In *Deus lo Volt!* (2000), Evan S. Connell, posing as John of Joinville, produced an account of two centuries of crusading. The last hundred pages are written in the first person and tell of St Louis's crusade; the book starts with a narrative of the First Crusade, indeed it begins with Peter the Hermit. It would appear that the reader is intended to accept these early pages as Joinville's own research into his forebears' deeds. Connell (b. 1924) is highly regarded in the United States, having written seventeen books including the bestseller *Son of the Morning Star*, which is about Custer's final battle. His established technique is to take historical characters and events and to dramatize them. Thus in *Deus lo Volt!* there are no invented characters and no intentional falsifications of the sequence of events, but there are many made-up speeches and conversations – although, irritatingly, the author does not use inverted commas to signal them. Connell has further seen fit to adopt an archaic writing style, constantly inverting the syntax. Thus, of Peter the Hermit: 'Whatever he was offered he refused . . . From village to village he wandered . . . Neither bread nor meat did he accept'⁵⁶ Connell does not indicate his own sources in terms of editions or translations of texts, but 'Joinville' scrupulously gives his authorities, from which it may be inferred that Connell probably used a collection of eyewitness accounts in translation.⁵⁷ Connell seems not to have researched more exhaustively: for example, according to 'Joinville' Peter returned to France directly after the massacre at Civetot, and his later role in the expedition is ignored. So far as the First Crusade is concerned,

⁵⁶ Connell, *Deus lo volt*, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Perhaps E. M. Hallam (ed.), *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London and New York, 1989), which contains anecdotal material that appears in the novel but not in other compilations.

it is difficult to see the point of *Deus lo Volt!*, which offers nothing which might not more satisfactorily be gained by reading history.

Linda Chaikin's *Swords and Scimitars* (1996) focuses on fictional characters, who outnumber 'historical characters' in the *dramatis personae*. In most other respects, too, this is a very different book from Connell's. In 288 pages its hero, half-Norman and half-Moorish, travels from his home in Sicily as far as Constantinople, becoming caught up in the 'Peasant Crusade' and even the Rhineland pogroms on the way. The book's heroine, a Byzantine noblewoman, is not merely fictional, but wildly implausible: the two characters meet when she has ridden from Constantinople to Wieselburg, apparently without disturbing her jewelled coiffure. The author, furthermore, while respecting the historical record with regard to the expeditions of Peter the Hermit and the other early departures, has distorted the political realities to serve her subplot. The goal for both hero and heroine proves to be 'the castle of Hohms' near Antioch, which is garrisoned by Normans for the Byzantines. So far as the action goes, it is only when reaching the final page of the volume with nothing resolved that it becomes clear this is only a third part of the whole book. However, a didactic purpose is achieved in the last chapter, when the hero's religious doubts are resolved in the library of Constantinople. He has been instructed in both Christianity and Islam, and has even posed (involuntarily) as a rabbi in Worms; now he reads the New Testament and realizes 'All religions except Christianity are man's efforts to make peace with God. But Christianity is God's work to reach man!' Linked with a previous insight, that 'heresy . . . was born of man's zeal apart from a knowledge of the entire Bible', something of the author's own mission is revealed. Linda Chaikin (b. 1943) 'is a graduate of Multnomah School of the Bible in Portland, Oregon', and is involved with Christian missionary work in India. The ecumenical brand of theology which underlies the book is modern, but at least Chaikin does not underestimate the importance of religion in the crusading period.

A book aimed at a similar reading level ('young adult') is Karleen Bradford's *There will be Wolves* (1992). This book falls firmly into the 'well researched background; anachronistic characters' category of historical fiction. Bradford, a Canadian, became interested in the First Crusade while living in Cologne, and her investigations culminated in following the route of Peter the Hermit's army (by car). Against an accurately described landscape, therefore, she has constructed a narrative based ultimately on Albert of Aachen, probably via Runciman, although she has misunderstood or misrepresented her sources by implicating Peter and his immediate followers in the massacres of the Jews. Bradford's heroine and hero, a young

herbalist and an apprentice stonemason, survive all the violence of the expedition with their sensibilities intact. She has a predilection for reading and taking baths, and occupies herself with animal welfare and countering child abuse; he is a pacifist. After the massacre at Civetot they decide to go home to Cologne. Bradford, who has won several prizes for her children's books, has also written a novel about the First Crusade proper, *Shadows on a Sword* (1996).

In Britain, meanwhile, the last quarter-century saw the development of various hybrid forms. The historical detective story was invented and popularized by Ellis Peters. In *A Morbid Taste For Bones* (1977), Peters introduced her new character, Cadfael the twelfth-century detective-monk. She furnished him from the first page with a crusading past: 'He was with Godfrey of Bouillon at Antioch, when the Saracens surrendered it. And he took to the seas as a captain when the king of Jerusalem ruled all the coast of the Holy Land, and served against the corsairs ten years.'⁵⁸ And Cadfael remembers 'Mariam the Saracen widow who sold spices and fruit in Antioch, and who found him man enough to replace for a while the man she had lost.'⁵⁹ It therefore comes as no great surprise to the reader when in the sixth of the series, *The Virgin in the Ice* (1982), Cadfael finds himself face to face with his crusading past, in the shape of a son conceived (unknown to him) on the eve of his return to Europe. The scene is set for the encounter with another reference to Mariam who 'had graced his arrival in the east, a mere boy of eighteen, and his departure, a seasoned soldier and seafarer of thirty-three.'⁶⁰ What is glossed over is the young man's religion: 'He leaned to his father's faith, and made his way to Jerusalem', explains one character, and 'My father was a crusader... I took his faith and went to join his people in Jerusalem as soon as I came a man', he says of himself.⁶¹ Cadfael's son reappears in *The Pilgrim of Hate* (1984), where he is 'Daoud, born in Antioch, son of an English crusading soldier in Robert of Normandy's following, somehow blown across the world in the service of an Angevin baron, to fetch up here almost more Norman than the Normans',⁶² and in Peters' last book, her twentieth in the series, *Brother Cadfael's Penance* (1994). Because this book opens with a reference to the fall of Edessa and a new crusade and ends with one of the protagonists taking the cross, one might hope for some more profound analysis of crusading. But in the end the crusade is no more than a device to remove the character from the scene. Before his departure he comments on the first expedition as 'surely

⁵⁸ Peters, *A Morbid Taste for Bones*, pp. 5-6. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Peters, *The Virgin in the Ice*, p. 23. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 210.

⁶² Peters, *The Pilgrim of Hate*, p. 134.

the worthiest'. 'The easiest to justify, perhaps', Cadfael agreed ruefully, 'I would not say more than that.'⁶³ In her introduction to the collection of short stories *A Rare Benedictine* (1988), Peters threw more light on her own beliefs when she observed: 'In an age of relatively uncomplicated faith, not yet obsessed and tormented by cantankerous schisms, sects and politicians, Cadfael has always been an unquestioning believer.'⁶⁴ The first story in the book tells of Cadfael's return to England and his decision to become a monk in 1120. His only reflection of any profundity on the experience of crusading is: 'I took the Cross. So did many like me, all afire. I won't say what followed was all ash, but it burned very low at times.'⁶⁵

In spite of their historical location, which is delineated well enough, Peters' characters are twentieth-century people dressed up. She conveys little of the 'otherness' of the past and consistently underrates the complexity of medieval religion and its importance as motivation. Her adaptation of the very English genre, the detective story romance, represents almost the ultimate domestication of the First Crusade, but this distinction is reserved for Polly Forrester, *Jewel Under Siege*, published by Mills and Boon in 1990 under their 'Masquerade' imprint. Even its title is meaningless, but it purports to be the story of a Frankish crusader who falls in love with a young Byzantine businesswoman in Constantinople in 1097. In some ways it is fascinating to see how the Mills and Boon formula is adapted: here 'the past is a foreign country', but, far from 'doing things differently', it is a Mediterranean holiday resort where the weather is better, but the food is reassuringly familiar and the populace speaks English. Historiography is irrelevant, but the book is imbued with the entrepreneurial spirit of the 1980s. It comes as no surprise when in the last chapter the hero abandons the crusade without a second thought and settles down in Constantinople to help the heroine run her small business.

One writer has picked up the challenge of setting a historical 'whodunnit' during the First Crusade: the action in *Murder in the Holy City*, by Simon Beaufort, takes place in Jerusalem in July 1100. The detective hero is an Anglo-Norman knight and follower of Tancred investigating mysterious deaths in the citadel and streets of the city. Simon Beaufort (the pen-name of a Cambridge history don) appears to have researched thoroughly the situation in Jerusalem and the political crisis at Godfrey's death,⁶⁶ but not

⁶³ Peters, *Brother Cadfael's Penance*, p. 139.

⁶⁴ Peters, *A Rare Benedictine*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁶ Cf. A. V. Murray, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 81-102.

to have an intimate acquaintance with this crusading period in general. For example, he seems to think Daimbert (and his fictitious niece) travelled to Outremer with the main crusading army, and he has the Hospitallers acting as overbearing 'warrior monks' at this early date. It is, however, a very readable adventure story, and later exploits of Sir Geoffrey Mappedstone are set in England, where the author may be more at home.

After the detective-story-romance, the love story and the 'whodunnit', the First Crusade was taken as the theme for the first episode in a fantasy trilogy, in a genre sometimes called 'sword-and-sorcery'. *The Iron Lance* is book one of a series called *The Celtic Crusades*, by Stephen Lawhead (1998). The story is framed by the experiences of a nineteenth-century Scottish lawyer, who belongs to a secret society, or 'Brotherhood', which has something to do with an ancestor's 'harrowing pilgrimage'. The major part of the book is set at the end of the eleventh century:

Murdo Ranulfson is left behind in the Orkneys while his father and brothers join the fight to win Jerusalem. But when all the family's lands and possessions are confiscated, Murdo follows the Crusade to find his father. Amid unimaginable brutality and the warring ambition of powerful lords, he will find a holy relic which will guide his life and that of his descendants for centuries to come. (blurb)

The inaccuracy of the series title (for obviously the hero is Norse, not Celtic) is an irritant, as are the fantasy episodes set in Victorian Edinburgh, but the adventure story is plausible and well written, and keeps closely enough to known events of the crusade. As with Simon Beaufort's novel, it is unlikely that people will read this book in order to find out about the First Crusade, but having read it they might wish to investigate further.

It remained only to treat the First Crusade as comedy, and this happened in *The Crusader Chronicles*, a four-part serial broadcast on BBC radio in 1994. The plot was devised with some knowledge of the course of events, but the humour depended mainly on the deployment of racist and sexist stereotypes and on deliberate anachronism, for example Justin the executioner, modelled on a camp hairdresser. It would be charitable to consider this a postmodernist contribution to the genre. Like Peters and Forrester, the writers had no real interest in understanding what induced people to undertake the journey to the East in 1096. A much more successful radio fiction was *The True Lance*, a play written by Ian Roger and broadcast in February 1976. It adopted the device of a narrator who, like the listener, was an outsider: Count Raymond's wife Elvira. It was she who conveyed at the outset the smell, the flies, the blood which pervaded Antioch in June 1098, and it was she who questioned Raymond on our behalf. This was, of course,

a device, but may be justified by the nature of the genre and its lay audience, and it proved unobtrusive. When the scene shifted, the characterization was credible and the analysis of motivation showed insight: Raymond's 'special relationship' with Alexius; Bohemond's astuteness; Peter the Hermit's (*faux-naïf*?) representation of the pilgrims as peaceful and his claim that the Turks were provoked by the presence of the knights; Peter's embassy to the Turks was interpreted as a device to buy time; Adhemar, the politician, was shown hating miracles because of the problems of proof; and above all Peter Bartholomew was just 'a bloody peasant' according to his wife, and 'no saint'. At the end, which was properly ambiguous, Peter Bartholomew complained, 'You all used me'. *The True Lance* was a well-researched and well-crafted piece.

There are no universally accepted rules for writers of historical novels. In this survey it has been argued that, if they have a value at all, it is in conveying the possible attitudes and motives of people in the past in a way which does not do violence to the known facts. Thus, thorough historical research is an essential basis. Some of the fiction surveyed here falls at this first hurdle, by misrepresenting known facts. Beyond this, the author must try to enter the *mentalité* of his characters, whether they are historical or invented persons. For authors writing about the crusades, this demands above all a proper understanding of the nature and importance of religious faith at the end of the eleventh century, and secondarily an appreciation of social and family relationships. Providing the writer succeeds thus far, the genre offers an opportunity not open to the historian of recreating a sense of immediacy and contemporaneity, of possibility and potentiality – a chance to escape the determinism of hindsight and to examine the choices open to the characters as they appeared at the time. This opportunity is rarely taken. Ultimately, whether reading historical novels is to be recommended is not a useful question, since the genre is more popular than it has ever been. Pragmatically, it is better to accept this and to encourage critical reading. Many a historian will admit to having first become interested in history through reading fiction. In a recent short article Richard Evans described his childhood reading, beginning, 'Historical fiction was one of the main reasons why I became a historian', and going on to outline the process by which he saw that the novelist's vision of the past was really a vision of his own present. He concluded: 'This got me interested in historiography as well as history. But it also made me realise that historical novels are not for grown-ups, and I have never read one since.'⁶⁷ This may be a reasonable

⁶⁷ R. J. Evans, 'An Interest Stirred', *BBC History Magazine* 2: 8 (August 2001), 37.

stance for historians of the modern period, for whom the past may be a foreign country, but it is one through which they have travelled themselves. For historians whose past is nine centuries distant, reading a well-researched and well-imagined historical novel can open up insights and ideas as well as providing enjoyment.

THE FIRST CRUSADE IN POST-WAR FICTION

NOVELS

- Baudis, Dominique, *Raimond d'Orient* (Paris: Grasset, 1999)
- Beaufort, Simon, *Murder in the Holy City* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998)
- Bouineau, Jacques, and Didier Colus, *Les chemins de Jérusalem* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1999)
- Bourin, Jeanne *Les pérégrines* (Paris: François Bourin, 1989)
- Bourin, Jeanne, *Les compagnons d'éternité* (Paris: François Bourin, 1992)
- Bourin, Jeanne, with Claudine and Roland Sabatier, *L'ami Séraphin* (Paris: François Bourin, 1993)
- Bradford, Karleen, *There will be Wolves* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992)
- Breuers, Dieter, *Sterben für Jerusalem: Ritter, Mönche, Muselmanen und der Erste Kreuzzug* (Bergisch Gladbach: Lübbe, 1997)
- Céron, Jacques, *1095: Le clair obscur* (Nonette: Créer, 1995)
- Chaikin, Linda, *Swords and Scimitars* (Minneapolis: Bethany House, 1996)
- Connell, Evan S., *Deus lo Volt!* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2000)
- Courtillé, Anne, *Dieu le veut* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1995)
- Davis, Christopher, *Belmarsh* (New York: Viking Press, 1964)
- Duggan, Alfred, *Knight With Armour* (London: Faber & Faber, 1950)
- Duggan, Alfred, *Count Bohemond* (London: Faber & Faber, 1964)
- Forrester, Polly, *Jewel Under Siege* (Richmond, Surrey: Mills & Boon, 1990)
- Hoban, Russell, *Pilgermann* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983)
- Hurley, Frank X., *The Crusader* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1974)
- Lascar, Martine, *Jérusalem fiancée des gueux* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 2001)
- Lawhead, Stephen, *The Iron Lance* (London: Voyager, 1998)
- Leguineche, Manuel, and María Antonia Velasco, *El Viaje Prodigioso: 900 años de la primera cruzada* (Madrid: Extra Alfaguara, 1995)
- Mason, Frank van Wyk, *Silver Leopard* (New York: Doubleday, 1955)
- Oldenbourg, Zoé, *The Heirs of the Kingdom* (London: Collins, 1971), a translation by Anne Carter of *La joie des pauvres* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1970)
- Oz, Amos, *Crusade*, a novella in Amos Oz, *Unto Death*, trans. Nicholas de Lange (London: Chatto & Windus, 1971)
- Peters, Ellis, *A Morbid Taste For Bones* (London: Macmillan, 1977)
- Peters, Ellis, *The Virgin in the Ice* (London: Macmillan, 1982)
- Peters, Ellis, *The Pilgrim of Hate* (London: Macmillan, 1984)
- Peters, Ellis, *A Rare Benedictine* (London: Headline, 1988)
- Peters, Ellis, *Brother Cadfael's Penance* (London: Macmillan, 1994)

- Peyramaure, Michel, *La croix et le royaume* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2001)
Rappe, Claude, *Godefroy de Bouillon: l'héritier maudit* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991)
Rappe, Claude, *Dieu le veut!* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999)
Rivelle, Stephen J., *A Booke of Days* (London: Macmillan, 1996)
Thibaux, Jean-Michel, *Les âmes brulantes* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1983; repr. Gonfaron: Éditions Parpaillon, 2000)

RADIO BROADCASTS

- The True Lance*, a play by Ian Roger, broadcast on BBC Radio 4, 1976.
The Crusader Chronicles, a serial by Chris Lang, Andy Taylor and Simon Greenhalgh, broadcast on BBC Radio 4, 1994.

*Nineteenth-century perspectives of the First Crusade**Elizabeth Siberry*

The events and main players in the First Crusade would have been well-known to a nineteenth-century British audience through scholarly and popular histories of the crusades produced by writers such as Charles Mills and primary sources available in the original Latin or translation.¹ Individual families took an interest in their medieval ancestors and in 1824 the librarian of Woburn Abbey, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, published a list of the English nobility and gentry who went on the crusades, as part of the introduction to his translation of the sixteenth-century Italian poet Torquato Tasso's epic poem about the First Crusade, *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Amongst those included was an ancestor of Wiffen's employer the duke of Bedford, Roger of Barneville, who was killed leading a sortie from Antioch in June 1098.² Another illustrated list of English crusaders, published in 1849 by Charles Dansey, included several references to the Courtenay family, ancestors of the earls of Devon and in the second half of the nineteenth century, the decoration of the new dining hall at their family home, Powderham Castle near Exeter, included the coat of arms of Milo de Courtenay, brother of Joscelin, lord of Tiberias and later count of Edessa.³

The popular image of the First Crusade was shaped by contemporary art, literature and music. And the individual paintings, novels, poems, operas and choral works were very varied and often bore little resemblance

¹ For an analysis of crusade historiography in this period, see J. E. Siberry, *The New Crusaders. Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 1–38.

² J. H. Wiffen, *The Jerusalem Delivered of Torquato Tasso* (London, 1824). Wiffen traced the family history of the dukes of Bedford in his *The Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell from the Time of the Norman Conquest*, published in 1833.

³ J. C. Dansey, *The English Crusaders* (1849). For the Courtenay crusading connection, see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000), p. 214 and J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 164–5, 169–72, 214, 248. Stories of crusaders from Devon also featured in the preface to A. Edwards, *Incidents in the Career of Coeur de Lion Related in Verse, with Copious Notes Referring to Him and Some of the First Crusaders* (Plymouth, 1878); a rather idiosyncratic work which seems to have been inspired by the renewed antagonism between the 'cross and crescent' following the Turkish massacres of Bulgarian Christians in 1876.

to the actual events of the crusades. To begin with painting: in 1835 the artist William Etty exhibited a painting entitled *The Warrior Arming* at the Royal Academy in London. It was later shown at the Royal Manchester Institution, the Royal Scottish Academy and by 1849, when it was exhibited at the Society of Arts, it was known as *Godfrey de Bouillon the Crusader Arming for Battle*. After a century in a private collection, it was given by the Whitworth family to the Manchester City Gallery, where it remains.⁴ It is Etty's only picture with a crusade subject and he seems to have been inspired by a two-volume history, *The Crusaders or Scenes, Events and Characters from the Times of The Crusades* by Thomas Keightley, published in 1833–4. Etty quoted at length from Keightley's chapter on the leaders of the First Crusade in a letter to his cousin and close friend, Thomas Bodley, dated 9 September 1833 and started work on the painting in the autumn of 1833.⁵ Etty's interest in Godfrey and the crusades may have been reinforced by a visit in August 1834 to the great medieval church of St Peter at Howden, near Selby in Yorkshire. He wrote to his brother Walter: 'In a ruinous part of Howden . . . the tomb of a crusader which I sketched in chain armour, a piece of plate armour on his knee, like my suit; shield, surcoat, sword etcetera and a lion at his feet'.⁶

The result is a colourful picture, depicting Godfrey in armour, with a red cap, a gold crucifix around his neck and a turbaned servant lifting a scarf of grey and gold over his master's shoulders. Keightley wrote of Godfrey, 'his exterior also was agreeable; his features were handsome, his hair a light brown, his person tall, and he was equally strong and active in his limbs'.⁷ Whilst there is no first-hand description of Godfrey, Keightley's source, directly or indirectly, was probably William of Tyre. After noting Godfrey's piety and linguistic proficiency, William states that, although of medium build, he had extraordinary strength; no doubt he was thinking of the feats with which he is credited, such as slicing a Turk in half. He adds that he had a pleasant visage and golden or flaxen (*flavus*) hair and beard.⁸ In Etty's portrait Godfrey's hair is now much darker, due to the effects of bitumen. There are also clear parallels with Etty's *The Persian*, so in practice Godfrey's features probably had more to do with those of Etty's model than William of Tyre.

⁴ See D. L. A. Farr, *William Etty* (London, 1958), p. 157. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–1.

⁶ A. Gilchrist, *Life of William Etty*, 2 vols. (London, 1855), II: 12.

⁷ T. Keightley, *The Crusaders or Scenes, Events and Characters from the Times of the Crusades*, 2 vols. (London, 1833–4), II: 36.

⁸ *WT* I: 426–7. I am grateful to Susan Edgington and Alan Murray for their comments on Godfrey's description. Other nineteenth-century portraits of Godfrey, in for example the Salles des Croisades at Versailles and at Bouillon, seem to have followed William of Tyre.

There is also, of course, the famous statue of Godfrey by the Belgian sculptor Simonis which stands in the Grand Place in Brussels. A plaster version exhibited at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 occupied a prominent position on the Main Avenue East and would have been seen by many of the six million visitors to Crystal Palace.⁹ And non-visitors would have had access to descriptions and illustrations in guides and journals. For example, the *Illustrated London News* depicted visitors gazing at the statue with varying degrees of interest and the accompanying article referred to its massive proportions and dynamism: 'The knightly crusader bestrides a warhorse of somewhat heavy proportions, which he has suddenly reined in, as he waves on high a flag as a rallying sign for his comrades in arms.'¹⁰ A smaller and different bronze figure of Godfrey on horseback was also listed for sale in a catalogue of Victorian Household Goods published in 1883.¹¹

Apart from a steady production line of paintings inspired by Tasso, which I have discussed elsewhere,¹² the First Crusade, in which of course English crusaders played only a small part, seems to have inspired few other British artists. The Royal Academy exhibition in 1845 however included a painting by W. H. Furse entitled *Peter the Hermit*. And the same subject was chosen by the Scottish artist James Archer for his *Dieu le Veult – Peter the Hermit preaching*, shown in London in 1883.¹³

With the exception of a story intended as an instructive tale for young Catholic readers,¹⁴ the only nineteenth-century novel written about the First Crusade which has come to my attention was Sir Walter Scott's *Count Robert of Paris*, published in 1831, at a time when he was in poor health and his literary, as well as physical powers were failing.¹⁵ Although it sold reasonably well, Scott's friend and business partner, James Ballantyne, regarded it as a failure and Scott himself advised a Russian countess whom he met in Malta that it was not worth reading.¹⁶ The Robert of the title was

⁹ *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 3 vols. (Royal Commission, London, 1851), III: 1166, pl. 81.

¹⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1861, p. 406. The article went on to describe Godfrey's arrival at Constantinople, drawing on the account of the First Crusade in *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (London, 1841) by the editor of the *Illustrated London News*, Charles Mackay.

¹¹ *The Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture and Household Requisites* (London, 1883, repr. 1991), p. 151.

¹² J. E. Siberry, 'Tasso and the Crusades: History of a Legacy', *JMH* 19 (1993), 166–8.

¹³ *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, ed. A. Graves, 8 vols. (London, 1905–6), I: 58, III: 183.

¹⁴ W. B. Maccabe, *Florine, Princess of Burgundy* (Dublin, 1860).

¹⁵ See J. Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott* (London, 1995), pp. 339–45.

¹⁶ *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. W. E. K. Anderson, (repr. Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 692, 780n, 784–5.

a member of the Poissy family from the Île de France,¹⁷ who was recorded by Anna Comnena as daring to sit upon the Byzantine emperor's throne.¹⁸ The story was repeated by later historians such as Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,¹⁹ and Scott first mentioned the episode in his *Essay on Chivalry*, published in 1818, as an example of the way in which an adventurous knight displayed his valour:

When Alexius Comnenus received the homage of the crusaders, seated upon his throne, previous to their crossing the Hellespont, during the first crusade, a French baron seated himself by the side of the Emperor of the East. He was reproved by Baldwin and answered in his native language, 'What ill taught clown is this, who dares to keep his seat when the flower of the European nobility are standing around him.' The Emperor, dissembling his indignation, desired to know the birth and condition of the audacious Frank. 'I am' replied the baron 'of the noblest race of France.'²⁰

In the later novel, Scott introduced a number of other characters such as the Anglo-Saxon Hereward, a member of the Varangian guard, Count Robert's wife, the Amazonian Brenhilda, Sylvanus, the gigantic man of the woods and even a tiger. The plot interweaves the machinations of the Byzantine court with the arrival of the crusading army. As the leaders of the First Crusade are paying homage to Alexius Comnenus, Count Robert arrives on horseback. Without hesitation, he seats himself on the vacant throne and begins to stroke a large wolfhound, which has followed him. Addressing the Byzantine emperor, he then declares: 'what churl is this . . . who has remained sitting stationary like a block of wood, or the fragment of a rock, when so many noble knights, the flower of chivalry and muster of gallantry, stand uncovered around among the thrice conquered Varangians'. Scott follows this with a number of exchanges between the count, Bohemond, Baldwin and Alexius. Ultimately, the emperor is resealed upon his throne and receives the 'sinewy hands' of the count in homage. Scott describes Robert as the hero of the tumultuous day and makes Godfrey observe to the count of Toulouse:

a wild knight errant, (he is) incapable of being influenced by anything save his own wayward fancy . . . There is an eternal trumpet in his ear sounding to assault, nor has he room or time to hear a milder or more rational signal. See how he strolls along yonder, the very emblem of an idle schoolboy, broke out of the

¹⁷ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 93, 221.

¹⁸ Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London, 1969), pp. 325-6.

¹⁹ E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols. (London, 1776-88), vi: 64-5.

²⁰ W. Scott, *Essay on Chivalry* (repr. London, 1870), p. 185.

school bounds upon a holiday, half animated by curiosity and half by love of mischief.²¹

Apart from Scott, a few contemporaries, of varying literary skills, wrote poems about the First Crusade. One of these was an epic, entitled *Athenais or the First Crusade* by William Stigand, published in 1866. Stigand is an interesting figure. Born in 1825, after Cambridge he entered the Bar, but in 1873, aged forty-eight, he transferred to the consular service, serving in Boulogne, Ragusa, Prussia, Sicily and the Philippines. He died in 1915, having spent his later years in Italy.²² Stigand's works seem to have been quite well-known in his time and *Athenais*, which he described as an *Iliad* of the cross, attracted reviews in for example *The Athenaeum*.²³

The poem opens with a lament against the faithlessness of Stigand's own age:

Dimm'd is the Passion's glory, our life's goal
Is some close sty of comfort, and the whole
Of our desires are bounded by the shine
Of gaud and tinsel – and the dull, gross soul
Can barely comprehend the joy divine
Which made men yearn to die in Holy Palestine.²⁴

He then praises the chivalry and heroism of the crusaders and declares:

They made for us a new heroic age
On which Romance will ever fondly dwell
Grandeur than aught in Time's recording page:
They made the Sword serve truth; their Valour's spell
Maintains its charm wh'er they fought and fell;
Tho' Godfrey's sword, which shap'd for Christ a throne
Where not a Christian now dare sound a bell,
Is but a relic to the curious shown,
And Islam dreadless sits upon the victor's stone.²⁵

²¹ Scott, *Count Robert of Paris* (Edinburgh, 1831), pp. 163–71.

²² See C. W. Reilly, *Mid-Victorian Poetry 1860–79: An Annotated Bibliography* (London, 2000). The crusades also formed the background to two other poems by Stigand in the collection *The Vision of Barbarossa*, published in 1860.

²³ *The Athenaeum*, 16 June 1866, pp. 794–5.

²⁴ W. Stigand, *Athenais* (London, 1866), canto 1, stanza iii.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, stanza viii. This is of course a reference to the alleged sword and spurs of Godfrey which are preserved in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and were regularly shown to important visitors in the nineteenth century, forming part of the investiture ceremony for Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. See Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, pp. 68–72.

Stigand begins his story of the First Crusade with the council of Clermont and, although *Athenais* runs to over three hundred pages, chronologically he only reaches the capture of Antioch. He apparently intended to complete the saga of the crusade, but for some reason failed to do so.

Interwoven with the events of the crusade is the story of Count Bertrand d'Aureval, who, as far as I have been able to establish, is a wholly fictional character. At Constantinople, Bertrand has seen and fallen in love with Athenais, another invention by Stigand, who makes her the niece of the Byzantine emperor, Alexius Comnenus. Whilst Bertrand is occupied with crusading, she is captured by Muslim pirates en route to her island kingdom of Cyprus. They are unexpectedly reunited at Antioch, where Bertrand proves himself a noble and chivalric rescuer, as well as playing a key role in the actual siege. Athenais returns to Cyprus and is joined there by Bertrand, who has fallen out with Bohemond. All does not however end happily ever after. With clear echoes of Tasso and the enchantress Armida and scant attention to crusade chronology, unbeknownst to Bertrand, Athenais is in thrall to the Assassins. She finds herself 'enslav'd unto a dark and merciless conspiracy' to cause dissension in the Byzantine Empire and between the crusaders and however hard she tries she cannot escape their 'gilded bonds'.

He (Bertrand) would perforce look out across the flood;
A galley near sail'd by in faster flight,
And on the poop a dark form low'ring stood,
And near it some fair woman rob'd in white,
She spread out wide across the black'ning night
Fond yearning arms. His senses fall'd anew-
It was the Princess in that miscreant's might,
Then darkness thick o'er all the ocean grew,
And all alone next morn his galley forwards flew.²⁶

The reviewer in *The Athenaeum* was critical of Stigand's use of language, and disputed 'his unjust but manifestly sincere invective against the dullness and sensuality and faithlessness of the present age'. Nevertheless, he respected his choice of subject: 'had this poem no other qualities that place it high above ordinary books of verse, the grandeur of its subject and the largeness of its scheme would win the respectful attention of readers who can appreciate the difficulty of heroic undertakings'.²⁷

There was also a short poem on the First Crusade by Richard Lewis Browne, chaplain to the Marquess of Downshire, entitled *The Taking of*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, canto vi, stanza clv. I am grateful for Helen Nicholson's advice about the characterization of Bertrand and Athenais.

²⁷ *The Athenaeum*, 16 June 1866, p. 794.

Jerusalem in the First Crusade, which was published in 1832. Heavily influenced by Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Browne looks forward to a time when Jerusalem will again be restored to Christendom:

This is thy wrath – Eternal king of kings,
Thine the Jew's curse, thine all his wanderings,
Lo! now – perchance in times far hence to be
The Penitent shall be restor'd to thee,
And the same race in other days shall reign
Within yon tessellated courts again,
And voices, in those shrines no longer mute
Shall wake to music the forgotten lute,
And hymns proclaim, where victims cease to bleed,
A holier worship, a purer creed.²⁸

And the British Library's collection includes another poem inspired by the battle of Dorylaeum and the siege of Antioch, by John Breakenridge, barrister at law, published in 1846. He writes of the crusading army drawn from throughout Europe:

With glittering spears, with banners sheen,
And all the glorious pomp of war,
With valour in each knightly mien,
The Christian chivalry from far,
From every vine clad hill of France,
And from the banks of lovely Rhine,
From Italy and Spain, advance
The warrior pilgrims to the shrine
Of him who on the Holy Hill
Of Calvary his blood outpoured,
Oblation meet the wrath to still
That o'er the seed of Adam loved:
And Britain, sea girt Isle, hath sent
Her heroes in the cause to fight;
All feuds in one great purpose bent,
They march to battle for the right.²⁹

The First Crusade was also the subject of at least two plays staged in London in the first half of the nineteenth century. Based on the 1803 play *Die Kreuzfahrer*, by the German writer August von Kotzebue, a drama

²⁸ R. L. Browne, *The Taking of Jerusalem in the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1832), pp. 1–15.

²⁹ J. Breakenridge, *The Crusades and other Poems* (Kingston, 1846), pp. 1–51. The First Crusade also formed the background to *The Crusader: a Romance* by an author known as GNC, published in 1879 and no doubt inspired other amateur poets whose work has not survived. See Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, p. 138.

entitled *Alfred and Emma* was published in London in 1806. Kotzebue's main characters had been a group of German crusaders, one of whom, Baldwin von Eicherhorst is betrothed to Emma von Falkenstein, who has followed him to the east. In the English version, they become Sir Alfred of Wansford and Emma Falconbridge, but the basic plot is not changed. Act one opens in the crusader camp in Nicaea, with the knights playing dice and chess and one 'asleep on a battering ram'. Emma, believing Alfred to have been killed in battle, arrives disguised as a pilgrim and decides to enter a convent. As Emma gives up her earthly ambitions, Alfred returns from the dead, having been ransomed by Adhémar of Le Puy. Alfred challenges one of his fellow knights to a duel over the fate of a Muslim girl and, wounded, is taken to the convent. The abbess, who we later discover is the abandoned and bitter former betrothed of Emma's father, has made her new charge forswear earthly love and when Emma and Alfred are reunited, she refuses to let them stay together, ruling that Emma should be entombed alive as a punishment. Needless to say, Alfred comes to the rescue, accompanied by the emir father of the Muslim girl and Adhémar releases Emma from her convent vows, allowing the couple to marry.³⁰ Another play on this theme by Joseph Ebsworth was staged at the Marylebone theatre in London in 1849,³¹ and Kotzebue also inspired an opera, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, by the German composer Louis Spohr, which enjoyed some success in Germany but was never performed in Britain.³²

These were all very individual and different interpretations of the First Crusade, but the main source of inspiration remained Tasso. Most libraries (public and private) seem to have had at least one copy and a range of editions and translations for different audiences were published in the nineteenth century. Some sought to teach both history and promote noble deeds.³³ And one finds references to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* in the most unexpected places such as Mrs Gaskell's sombre industrial novel *North and South*, published in 1855.³⁴

It is not surprising that the most extravagant imagery is to be found in opera. Tasso's tale inspired at least one hundred operas and some were performed in Britain in the course of the nineteenth century. For example,

³⁰ *Alfred and Emma: A Play in 5 Acts Founded on the Red Cross Knights of Baron von Kotzebue* (London, 1806).

³¹ See *The Athenaeum*, 10 November 1849, p. 1138.

³² C. Brown, *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 286–7.

³³ See for example *A Key to the Study of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, Virgil's Aeneid and Jerusalem Delivered in English* (London, 1860), which took the form of cards telling the stories of these epics and their heroes and was intended for the use of schools and private families.

³⁴ Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South* (Penguin edn London, 1970), p. 257.

Rossini's *Armide* was given a concert performance at Covent Garden in January 1822 and there was a concert selection from Gluck's *Armide* at the Norwich Festival in September 1860.³⁵ Other contemporary composers took the First Crusade as their theme and the resulting librettos and performances would have left, however fanciful, some impression on the mind of the audience and those who read reviews or saw illustrations of costumes and sets in journals such as *The Athenaeum*.

In April 1822, another opera by Rossini, *Mose in Egitto*, which had been premiered in Naples in 1818, was performed at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket in London. To make the plot suitable for a British Protestant audience, it was reworked as the story of Peter the Hermit and the First Crusade, but with little regard for the historical events and characters. The editor of the libretto published in 1842 commented:

It being impossible to bring a scripture subject upon the stage of the opera, it was found necessary to make an alteration in the subject of the piece. This was no difficult task. The captivity of the crusaders in Syria, under the sultan, is a case sufficiently parallel to that of the Jews in Egypt under Pharaoh; and Peter the Hermit, the promoter and author of the crusades, and to whom the superstition of the eleventh age attributed the power of working miracles, was easily made to supply the place of Moses. The substitution of Christian names and the adaptation of the rest of the subject was comparatively easy.³⁶

Not all might agree with this statement.

The first Act of *Pietro l'Eremita* opens in Damietta, where Noraddin, the sultan of Egypt, has transported the defeated crusaders as his prisoners. Noraddin, his wife Fatima and son Orosman are bewailing the plague of darkness which they attribute to the avenging hand of God. The sultan promises to release his captives and light returns, but the situation is complicated by the love of Orosman for Agia, the daughter of a crusader, to whom he is secretly married. Orosman plots with his father's minister Ismen to stir up a revolt against the sultan's decision; Noraddin is persuaded to renege on his undertaking and the result is another plague of tempest and 'living fire'. In act two, Fatima begs Noraddin to let the Christians go and Orosman laments the prospect of parting from Agia. Agia announces that they are husband and wife to the horror of both sets of parents; Orosman draws his sword and rushes at Peter, but he is struck by a thunderbolt and falls down dead. The opera ends with Peter, the crusader Lusignan, his wife

³⁵ A. Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1596-1940* (London, 1978).

³⁶ I am grateful to Oliver Davies, from the Department of Portraits and Performance History at the Royal College of Music, London, for his help in tracking down a copy of this libretto.

Constantia and Agia praying for God to have pity on them and grant them a safe passage back to the crusader camp.

John Ebers, then manager of the King's Theatre, commented that the 'degree of boldness' with which the revised plot overstepped 'the bounds of time and place' was 'rather startling', but in practical terms *Pietro* was the most successful opera during his seven-year period of office.³⁷ The opera critic of *The Times*, Thomas Alsager, took a similar view:

a singular confusion of old facts with new names have rendered this drama one of the most curious perversions of history ever exhibited on stage. By substituting Pharaoh for Noraddin, Moses for Peter the Hermit and the Israelites for the Christians, we have the exact counterpart of that most venerable piece of Scripture history . . . But absurd as the (re)construction is, those who hear the music will incline to pardon that and much greater offences against good taste. Since Mozart, there has been no musical drama so striking in merit performed in this country.³⁸

The *Literary Gazette* praised the music as 'of a very rich and eloquent description' and the splendid scenery and dresses, although it considered that the number of recitatives could have been reduced,³⁹ and *Pietro* proved popular with eight further performances in 1827,⁴⁰ and revivals in 1830, 1837 and 1842. Moreover the reviewer in *The Athenaeum* in July 1837 commented that *Pietro* sounded 'as fresh and brilliant after its 6 years sleep, as if it had been a wholly new work'.⁴¹

Historical accuracy was much less important than spectacle and Ebers commented on the dramatic scenery and stage effects, not all of which worked as planned:

A body of troops pass (in our case they only ought to have passed) over a bridge, which breaking in the midst, they are submerged in the waves. These troops being made of basket work, and pulled over the bridge by ropes, unfortunately became refractory on their passage, and very sensibly refused, when the bridge was about to give way, to proceed any farther; consequently, when the downfall of the arches took place, the basket men remained very quietly on that part of the bridge which was left standing, and, instead of being consigned to the waves, had nearly been set on fire. The audience, not giving the troops due credit for their prudence, found no little fault with their compliance with the law of self preservation. In the following

³⁷ J. Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre (Haymarket)* (London, 1828), pp. 157–64.

³⁸ *The Times*, 24 April 1822.

³⁹ *Literary Gazette*, 1822, p. 266. See also T. Fenner, *Opera in London. Views of the Press 1785–1830* (Southern Illinois, 1994), p. 151.

⁴⁰ See for example *The Times*, 16 March 1827. Some of the music would have reached a wider audience through adaptations for the piano and other instruments.

⁴¹ *The Athenaeum*, 22 July 1837, p. 540.

representation of the opera, the bridge and basket men, which, *en passant* (or *en restant* rather), had cost fifty pounds, were omitted.⁴²

A deservedly much better known opera about the First Crusade is Verdi's *I Lombardi alla prima crociata*. Its libretto, indirectly inspired by Tasso, tells the story of the Lombard participation in the First Crusade, interwoven with family rivalries and ensuing tragedy. It struck a chord with Lombard nationalists who saw their Austrian masters as the Muslims unjustly ruling the Holy City of Jerusalem (their Milan) and themselves as the crusaders fighting for its liberation.⁴³ The first performance took place in Milan in February 1843 and within a few years it had been performed in opera houses all over Europe and in North America. The London premiere took place in May 1846, at Her Majesty's Theatre. The *Literary Gazette* praised the magnificence of the production, but was less enthusiastic about Verdi's music.⁴⁴ The review in *The Times* was in similar vein:

The grand novelty of the season, Verdi's *Lombardi alla prima crociata*, was produced here last night to one of the most brilliant audiences that was ever assembled within the walls of this theatre. The greatest pains had been taken to mount it on a scale of splendour hitherto unknown to the establishment and the labour proves not to have been thrown away, for the success is unquestionable. The work is one of those that require great attention to the decorative department, for it is almost as much spectacle as an opera. Even the music, with the frequent introduction of the military band is, in great measure, directed to that feeling on which spectacle depends.⁴⁵

*The Athenaeum*⁴⁶ contrasted *I Lombardi* unfavourably with *Pietro l'Eremita* and other operas which took their plot from events during the crusades such as Sir Michael Costa's *Malek Adel*,⁴⁷ but at least one reviewer was enthused by this depiction of the 'character, habits and manners of the first crusaders':

⁴² Ebers, *Seven Years*, pp. 159–60.

⁴³ See G. Airdi, 'I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata', in *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airdi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 477–96 and Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, pp. 170–81. Verdi also seems to have been used to assist the cause of Greek nationalism. In 1854, at a performance of *I Lombardi* in Athens, attended by King Otho of Greece, the blue cross of the Greek flag was substituted for the red cross of the crusaders. See L. Bower and G. Bolitho, *Otho I King of Greece. A Biography* (London, 1939), p. 196. The use of the crusade image in the Greek War of Independence is discussed by N. Athanassoglou-Kallymer in *French Images from the Greek War of Independence 1821–30* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 10, 20–5.

⁴⁴ *Literary Gazette*, 1846, p. 458. ⁴⁵ *The Times*, 13 May 1846.

⁴⁶ *The Athenaeum*, 16 May 1846, p. 506.

⁴⁷ *Malek Adel* is set against the background of the Third Crusade and based on the novel of the same name by the French writer Madame Cottin. See Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, pp. 176–7.

we are here introduced to the noble knights and dames of that age, with their high and chivalric qualities, their fervent piety and sincere, though sometimes mistaken, zeal; and then led to the East amidst Christian warriors, Musselmen, hermits etcetera and to the most deeply interesting scenes in the world – the music constantly changing its character and adapting itself to these various objects.⁴⁸

It is an interesting historical coincidence that the orchestra at the Haymarket was conducted by Michael Balfe, who himself wrote an opera entitled *The Knight of the Leopard*, set against the background of the Third Crusade and inspired by Scott's novel *The Talisman*.

A further operatic variation on the story of the First Crusade was provided by Sir Julius Benedict's *The Crusades*, which was first performed at Drury Lane, London, in February 1846, with a plot which drew heavily on Tasso and included some characters, such as William Archbishop of Tyre, who of course long postdated the First Crusade.

There were also several oratorios and dramatic cantatas inspired by the First Crusade. On 17 March 1824, the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London saw the first British performance of *Jerusalem Delivered*, a sacred oratorio by Maximilian Stadler, the Director of Music at the imperial Austrian court. It included choruses of angels, demons, sentinels and warriors and a sinfonia 'imitative of the storming of Jerusalem' and the applause was apparently so great that a second performance took place at the Covent Garden Theatre Royal two days later. And in September 1837, *The Triumph of Faith* by August Ferdinand Haeser, then Director of Music at a church in Weimar, was performed by massed choirs and orchestra at the Birmingham Town Hall as part of the Birmingham Festival. *The Athenaeum* was unenthusiastic: 'on this occasion the audience, who had on previous mornings been perversely self willed in disregarding the requests posted throughout the hall that there should be no applause during the sacred performance became dutifully obedient and listened in silence'. The reviewer added however that Haeser's work might have been at a disadvantage, following performances of Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's new oratorio *St Paul*.⁴⁹

Several decades later, composers as diverse as the Danish nationalist Niels Gade, Henry Hiles, Professor of Harmony and Composition at the Royal Manchester School of Music, and Thomas Facer, a composer of popular religious and patriotic works, composed dramatic crusade cantatas set against the background of the First Crusade. Gade's cantata, *The Crusaders*, was heavily based on Tasso and must have had some popularity because it was published in an English translation by Novello in 1876.

⁴⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 16 May 1846, p. 327.

⁴⁹ *The Athenaeum*, 30 September 1837, p. 730.

Hiles's *The Crusaders* included a number of evening hymns and marches and described a pilgrim band lost in the desert who meet Godfrey. A review in *The Athenaeum*⁵⁰ referred to the fantastically tangled plot, but again it was published by Novello and remained in the catalogue for some years. And Thomas Facer's *The Crusader*, produced for use by church choirs and choral societies, told the story of Margaret whose lover Christian departs on the crusade and eventually returns after many trials and tribulations.⁵¹

The nineteenth century therefore offered contemporaries a wide range of interpretations in art, literature and music of the First Crusade. The quality is similarly very variable and most are now long and understandably forgotten. At the time, however, individually and collectively they contributed to the creation of the popular image of the expedition and its leaders; a legacy which still has some currency today.

⁵⁰ *The Athenaeum*, 29 August 1874, p. 700.

⁵¹ See Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, p. 186.

Index

The following abbreviations are used:

a	archbishop [of]	k	king [of]
b	bishop [of]	kdm	kingdom [of]
Bk	Book [of]	NT	[in] New Testament
c	count [of]	OT	[in] Old Testament
d	duke [of]	p	pope
e	emperor [of]	q	queen [of]
FC	First Crusade	s	sultan [of]
H	Hospitaller	T	Templar

Individuals except rulers are listed under their last name. Written works and works of art are listed under authors and artists when known.

- Abbo of Fleury 205
 Abraham, OT 136, 214, 215–16
 Abu Gosh, church at 229–30
 Abū'l Fidā' 120
 Abu Shāmāh 119
 Abydos 111
 Acre 60, 61, 63, 65, 70, 75, 105, 109, 119, 120, 121, 227, 228
 fall of (1291) 2, 59
 Adalia 93
 Adam, OT 142
 Adhemar, b Le Puy 70
 in fictional accounts of FC 270, 278, 288
 Adriatic Sea 183, 228
 Aegean Sea 108–9, 110–11
 Alabites 35
 al-'Ādil I Sayf-ad-Dīn, s 113, 119–20
 Alan of Lille 133
 De Fide Catholica 133
 al-'Azīz 'Imād-ad-Dīn, s 119
 Albert of Aachen 63, 65, 75, 104, 256, 257, 274
 Historia 256
 Albigenians 119
 Alcuin 197
 Aleman, family 225
 Aleppo 127
 Alexander III, p 40, 97, 225–7
 Alexandria 52, 53–4, 57, 114, 119, 227
 Alexius III Angelus (Alexios Angelos),
 e Byzantium 97–101, 106, 107, 111
 Alexius I Comnenus, e Byzantium 71, 284
 in fictional accounts of FC 278, 283–4, 286
 Alfonso I, k Portugal 40, 41, 42
Alfred and Emma, play 288
 Algarve, the 40
 Alleluia Victory (429) 201
 al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-ad-Dīn, s 119
 al-Maqrīzī 119
 Alphonsi, Peter 128, 132–3, 140
 Alsager, Thomas 290
 Alvisus, b Arras 82
 Amalfi 227
 Amalric I, k Jerusalem 121
 Amaury of Narbonne 50, 51, 55
 Ambrose of Autpert 196
 Amposta, H castellan of 242
 Anatolia 230
 Andrew of Fleury 36
 Andrew, St 163
 Andrew the Tribune 200
 Andronikos I, e Byzantium 107, 109
 Angela, Irene 98
 Angelos, Isaac 110
 angels 161

- Angelus, Alexius 101–2
 Angevins, dynasty of Sicily and Naples 47, 49;
 see also individual members of dynasty
 Anglo-Saxons 33
 Anicius, p 153
 Annales school, of historians 259, 266, 271
 Anna of Antioch 228
 Anselm, a Milan 67
 Anselm II, b Lucca 179–82, 186, 193
 Collectio canonum 179
 De caritate 179, 182
 Ansonus of Lobbes 196
 Antichrist 127–8, 140–1, 146, 166
 Antioch 85, 227, 229
 battle of (1098) 26
 during Second Crusade 80, 89
 in fictional accounts of FC 255, 264, 275, 277,
 286, 287
 siege and capture of during FC 62, 65–6, 69,
 70, 83, 170, 281
 Apulia 111
 Aquila, sailing ship 116
 Aquitaine 41, 238
 Arabia 113
 Archer, James 283
 Dieu le Veult – Peter the Hermit preaching 283
 Archer, Thomas 256
 Ardfinnan (co. Tipperary), church at 234
 Arian heretics 197
 Armenia 2, 49, 119
 Arm of St George (near Constantinople) 84
 Arnold, a Cologne 42
 Arnulf, a Metz 201
 Arnulf, author 42
 Arnulf the Martyr 205
 Arras 81
 Arsuf 63
 Arthurian romance 251
 Ascalon 78, 105, 188
 battle of (1099) 151–2
 Asia Minor 33, 84, 85, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95
 Assassins, in fictional accounts of FC 286
 Astakos, gulf of 110
 Athelstan, k 203
 Athenaeum, *The* 285–6, 290, 291, 292, 293
 Atramyttion 111
 Atto, c Abruzzo 227
 Augsburg 102
 Augustine, St 6, 177–8, 181–2, 186–7, 190, 193–6,
 202, 206–7, 229
 Contra Faustum Manicheum 177, 181
 De civitate Dei 177
 Quaestionum in Heptateuchum liber 177
 Augustinian witness theory 129–30, 145
 Aulikalamos, Theodore 108
 Aurillac 206
 Austria 225
 Autun 202
 Avignon
 papacy at 45, 159–60
 papal palace 158, 159
 Ayyūbids, dynasty 119, 122; *see also individual*
 members of dynasty
 Baal, OT 167
 Babylon 166
 Bahr aş-Saghīr 121
 Baldric of Bourgeuil 24, 147
 Baldric of Dol 160, 163, 173–4
 Baldwin I, k Jerusalem 63, 70, 73–4, 105, 284
 in fictional accounts of FC 272, 284
 Baldwin II, k Jerusalem 77, 105, 188
 Baldwin I, Latin e Constantinople 116, 230
 Baldwin II, Latin e Constantinople 231
 Balfe, Michael 292
 The Knight of the Leopard 292
 Ballantyne, James 283
 Baltic region, crusades in 4
 Barcelona, Disputation (1263) 134
 Bari 64
 Barrier, Pierre 46
 Bartholomew, b Exeter 185
 Bartholomew, Peter, in fictional accounts of FC
 278
 Basel 191
 Basil, St, canon of 204
 Baudis, Dominique 269
 Raimond d'Orient 269, 279
 Bavaria 58, 196
 Bavo of Ghent, St 204
 Baybars (Baibars), s 157, 243
 Beaufort, Simon 276, 277
 Murder in the Holy City 276, 279
 Bec 29
 Becket, Thomas, St 28, 31–2
 Bede 143, 205
 Bede the Lesser 197
 Beirut 105
 Bela III, k Hungary 228
 Benedict, St 147
 Order of 147–56
 Benedict, Sir Julius 292
 The Crusades 292
 Benevento 196
 Berbers 35
 Berengar, b Tours 180
 Berlin, Isaiah 258–9
 Bernard of Angers 34–5
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St 82, 163, 185, 188, 191
 De laude novae militiae 185, 191

- Bernard the Treasurer 113, 115
 Bertinus, St 203
 Bertrand of St Gilles, in fictional accounts of FC 269
 Bethlehem 33, 222, 227
bibles moralisées 210–22
 Birsheba 229
 Black Death 48
 Black Sea 112
 Blanche of Castile, q France 211
 Bloch, Marc 271
 Bohemia 225
 Bohemond of Taranto and Antioch 63, 69, 85
 in fictional accounts of FC 262, 271, 278, 282–4, 286
 Bologna 67, 187
 Urban II's letter to 150
 Boniface VIII, p 159–60
 Boniface, St 197
 Bonizo of Sutri, b 178
 Bonn 43
 Bosphorus (Bosporos) 84, 121
 Boucicaud, Marshal, *see* Jean II le Meingre
 Boineau, Jacques 270
 Les chemins de Jérusalem 270, 279
 Bourges 226
 Bourin, Jeanne 267
 La chambre des dames 267
 La dame de beauté 267
 L'ami Séraphin 267, 279
 Le bonheur est une femme 267
 Le jeu de la tentation 267
 Les compagnons d'éternité 267, 279
 Les pèlerins 267, 279
 Très sage Héloïse 267
 Bovo, nobleman 206
 Bradford, Karleen 274
 Shadows on a Sword 275
 There will be Wolves 274, 279
 Braga 40
 archbishop of 42
 Branas, Michael, duke of Sofia 85
 Breakenridge, John 287
 Breuers, Dieter
 Sterben für Jerusalem: Ritter, Mönche, Muselmanen und der Erste Kreuzzug 272, 279
 Brittany 203, 204
 Browne, Richard Lewis 286
 The Taking of Jerusalem in the First Crusade 286
 Bruce, Edward 241
 Bruges 29
 Bruno of Cologne 195, 207
 Bruno of Querfurt 198
 Bulgaria 82, 89, 228, 281
 patriarch of 101
 Burchard of Worms 150, 181, 194
 Decretum 150, 181
 Burgundy 57–8
 Burley, Thomas, prior of the Hospital in Ireland 239
 Butler, Thomas, prior of the Hospital in Ireland 240
 Butterfield, Herbert 258–9
 Byzantium 81, 85–90, 91, 98, 106–12, 116, 117–18, 121, 172, 183, 198, 228–32; *see also individual rulers*
 Caesarea 60, 63, 65, 70
 Caffaro de Caschifellone 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 73–4
 Cairo 112, 113, 114, 119, 121, 122
 Misr shipyard 119
 Calabria 111, 130, 132, 144, 145
 Calixtus II, p 78
camera, papal 47, 54
 Cam, Helen 259–60
 Canaan, OT 215–16
 canon law 147–56, 185, 193, 205; *see also individual collections*
 canons-regular 153, 155
 Canterbury 32
 Cape St Vincent 40
 Caputmallus, Guglielmo 70
 Carinthia 228
 Carniola 228
 Carolingian church, and warfare 149, 196–7
 Carpentras, H General Chapter at 249
 Carrickfergus, castle at 241
 Casamari 131
 Cathars 141
 Céron, Jacques 268, 271
 1095: *Le clair obscur* 268, 279
 Ceuta 53
 Chaikin, Linda 274
 Swords and Scimitars 274, 279
chaîne, harbour tax in kdm of Jerusalem 60
 Chalcedon, council of (451) 148
chambre des comptes, in French royal government 46
Chanson d'Antioche 255
 Chapelizod, church of 235
 charity, Christian views on 6, 66, 175, 181, 182
 Charlemagne 83, 162, 171, 196–7
 Charles, c Valois 50–1
 Charles IV, k France 49, 50, 51
 Charles VI, k France 52
 Charles II, k Naples 47
 Charles Martel 196, 202

- Charles I of Anjou, k Sicily 116, 118
 Charles the Bald 195, 197
 Childebert 202
 chivalry, and crusading 52
 Choniates, Niketas 92, 93, 106, 107, 108–11,
 115
Chronike diegesis 106
 Christian-Jewish debates 129–31, 134, 140, 141,
 143, 145
 Christian, Paul 134
 Christian Republic, idea of 64
Chronicles of Flanders 113
 church
 and eschatological thought of Joachim of
 Fiore 127–8, 140
 Carolingian 149
 Ottonian 149, 201
 reform movement, of eleventh century 148
 Cicero 176, 186
De republica 176
 Cilicia 84
 Cistercians 154
 Civitate, battle of 178
 Clement V, p 46, 47–8, 59
 Clement VI, p 47–9, 59, 157, 158–9, 249
 Clerkenwell, H preceptory of 246
 Clermont, council of (1095) 6, 21–3, 37, 121, 148,
 149, 150, 160, 163, 183, 185, 191
 in fictional accounts of FC 286
 Clonfert 33
 Clothar 202
 Cluniacs 154, 206
 Coimbra 40
 Collins, Irene 260
 Colus, Didier 270
 Comgall, St 204
 Comnena, Anna 256, 284
 in fictional accounts of FC 269, 271
 Comnena, Maria 228
 Compiègne 82
 Compostela 32–3
 Connaught 240
 Connell, Evan S. 273
Deus lo Volt! 273–4, 279
Son of the Morning Star 273
 Conques 36
 Conrad III, k Germany 40, 88, 94
 Constance of Sicily 96
 Constantine, Roman e 148, 162, 176, 196, 198,
 201, 204, 207
 Constantinople 33, 84, 87–8, 89, 91, 97, 102, 103,
 106–11, 115, 116–18, 121–3, 190, 225–32, 283
 Benedictine monastery of Sancta Maria 228
 Byzantine recapture of (1261) 232
 church of St John the Baptist 231
 church of *Sancta Yomenia* 230
 church of San Salvatore 228
 conquest and sack by Fourth Crusade 61, 76,
 230
domus or *prioratus* of St John 225, 227
 Golden Horn 110, 116, 121, 232
 hospital of St George 231, 233–52
 hospital of St John the Almoner 231
 hospital of St Samson 231
 in fictional accounts of FC 256, 267, 274, 276,
 286
 Manganes hospital 231
 patriarch of 97, 100
 Contarini, Enrico, b Castello 65, 68, 71–2, 75,
 76
conversi, and monastic houses 154–5
 Corazzo 131–2
 Córdoba 35
 Corfu 63, 78–9, 118
 Corinth 231
 Gulf of 230
 hospital of St Samson 231
 Costa, Sir Michael 291
Malek Adel 291
 Cottin, Madame Sophie 291
 Courtenays, family 281
 Courtillé, Anne 268
Les dames de Clermont 268
Dieu le veult 268, 279
 Crécy, battle of 242
 Crispin, Gilbert 134, 142
 Croatia 228
 Crooke, Waterford diocese, T house at 234
 cross, crusading 4, 65, 71, 72, 73, 216, 291
 taking the cross 4, 5, 7, 20, 29, 56, 61, 64–5,
 67–9, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 105, 162, 164, 171–3,
 215–16, 219, 243
 crusade
 against the Albigensians 219–21
 definition of 3–5
 financing of 5, 44, 45–59
 first of Louis IX 45, 52, 121
 of 1101 6, 16
 of Nicopolis (1396) 57–8
 planned in 1150 81, 88
 popular (1309) 56
 second of Louis IX 45, 117, 243
 to al-Mahdiya (1390) 52, 53
 to Balearics (1114–16) 29
 to Flanders (1383) 54–5
Crusader: a Romaunt, The 287
Crusader Chronicles, The, BBC comedy serial
 277, 280
 crusades, preaching of 5, 8, 57, 157–73,
 189

- crusading ideology 6, 210–22
 crusading vow 4, 71, 72, 152
 redemption of 46
 Cuno, abbot of Disibodenberg 42
Cur deus homo, debate 134, 145
 Cuthbert, St 33
 Cymro-Normans 233–4, 242
 Cyprus 2, 53, 56, 100, 110, 111, 118,
 119
 Daggworth, Nicholas 54
 Dailnaraida 204
 Daimbert, a Pisa 63, 70–1, 74
 in fictional accounts of FC 263, 277
 Damascus 40, 112, 113, 127, 188
 Damietta 119, 189
 Dandolo, Andreas 105, 115, 116
 Dandolo, Enrico, doge 103, 105–8, 111, 114–15,
 121, 123
 Dandolo, Rainieri 106
 Daniel, OT Bk 140–1
 Dansey, Charles 256, 281
 Darcy, John 238
 Dardanelles 109, 110, 111
 David, canon, superior of monastery of
 St Vincent at Lisbon 43
 David, OT k 176, 219–21
 Davis, Christopher 260, 263, 264, 271
 Belmarsh: A Legend of the First Crusade 263,
 279
 Ishmael 264
 Lost Summer 264
 The Shamir of Dachau 264
 Dead Sea 2
 decretalists 188
 decretists 188
De expugnatione Lyxbonensi 43, 90
 Denmark 205
 Despensers, Henry, b Norwich 54–6
 Deuil 81
 Devon, crusaders from 281
 Dijon 58
 Dionysius, St 86–7
 Dominicans 157, 158, 163, 173
 Donald Og McCarthy 242
 Donation, St 29
 Donatists 177
 Dorylaeum, battle of, in fictional accounts of FC
 287
 Dothan, OT city 161
 Droctoveus of Autun, St 202
dromones, transport vessels 108
 Duggan, Alfred 260–2, 263
 Count Bohemond 261, 263, 279
 Knight With Armour 261, 279
 Duodechin, priest of Lahnstein 42
 Durham 33
 East Anglia 205
 Ebers, John 290
 Ebsworth, Joseph 288
 Ecry-sur-Aisne 100
 Edessa 2, 40, 188
 fall of to Zengi, in fictional account of
 crusades 275
 Edmund Plantagenet 243
 Edmund, St 205
 Edward I, k England 237, 241, 243, 247–8,
 249
 Edward II, k England 238, 243
 Edward III, k England 238, 241, 243–4, 249,
 250
 Edwin of Northumbria 205
 Egypt 49, 67, 79, 105, 108–9, 112–14, 117,
 119–23, 127, 151, 232; *see also individual*
 rulers
 Eleanor, q England 247
 Eleanor, q France 85
 Eligius, St 200
 Elijah, OT prophet 142
 Elisha, OT prophet 161
 Emmicho, k Hungary 96
 Empire, western 25
 England 17, 25, 28, 31, 41–2, 195, 202, 205,
 233–51
 government of 54
 prior of the Hospital in 247, 249–51
 kings of 234–51; *see also individual monarchs*
 Norman conquest of 17, 195
 parliament of 55
 English Channel 56
 Enguerrand de Marigny 46, 51
 Enimias, St 33
 Ephesus 92
Eracles 119
 Erminius of Lobbes, abbot 196
 Ernoul, chronicle of, Continuation 113, 115,
 119
 Étampes 85
 Etty, William 282
 The Persian 282–4
 The Warrior Arming, also known as *Godfrey de*
 Bouillon the Crusader Arming for Battle
 282
 Eudes of Châteauroux 215
 Eudo, d Aquitaine 201
 Eugenius III, p 83, 86, 88, 91, 97, 184
 Quantum praedecessores 83, 97, 184
 exegesis, biblical 133, 139, 141, 144, 167–9,
 210–11

- Exodus, OT Bk 139, 179
 Ezekiel, OT Bk 182
 Ezekiel, OT prophet 182
- Fabius the Standard-bearer 200
 Facer, Thomas 292
 The Crusader 293
 Faith, St, of Conques 203
familiares, attached to monastic houses
 154
 Faronus of Meaux 201
 Fātimids, dynasty 113
 Febvre, Lucien 271
 Felix, martyr 200
 Ferrières 81
 Fiarchrius, k 203
 Fifth Crusade 105, 113, 121, 189
filioque clause 87
 Fintan, St 203
 First Crusade 6–9, 13–25, 29, 73, 75, 76–7, 83–4,
 90, 121
 chroniclers of 85, 147–56, 170–3; *see also*
 individuals
 events during 62–3, 70, 190
 fictional accounts of 255–78
 Hugh of Vermandois and 81
 in nineteenth-century literature, art and
 music 281–93
 Italian city-republics and 61, 62, 63, 64, 66
 relics and 76
 fitz Gerald, Maurice, a Dublin 237
 fitz Roger, William, prior of the Hospital in
 Ireland 238, 240, 249
 Flanders 40, 41, 43, 56, 91
 Fleury 27, 203
fonde, market tax in kdm of Jerusalem 60
 Fontenoy, battle of 197
 Forrester, Polly 276, 277
 Jewel Under Siege 276, 279
 Fourth Crusade 61, 76, 96–102, 103–23, 191
 Fourth Lateran Council 191
 Ad liberandam terram sanctam 190
 Fowlmere, Robert 54
 France 7, 8, 25, 28, 45, 49–51, 55, 56–7, 58, 83,
 85–6, 91, 100, 187, 206, 225, 233, 243
 and Fourth Crusade 103–4
 and Second Crusade 84, 85–94
 Capetian kings of 45, 82–3, 211; *see also*
 individual monarchs
 church in 45
 prior of the Hospital in 242
 Valois kings of 45; *see also individual*
 monarchs
 Frederick I (Barbarossa), e 96, 107, 170,
 225–6
 Frederick II, e and k Sicily 96, 118, 122
 Friuli 228
 Froissart, Jean 244
 Fulbourn, Cambs. 245
 Fulcher of Chartres 62, 79, 84, 105, 170, 172,
 173–4
 Historia Antiochena 170
 Furse, W. H. 283
 Peter the Hermit 283
 Fūwah 120
- Gade, Niels 292
 The Crusaders 292
 Galata 121
 García, Sancho, c Castile 35
 Gascony 51
 Gaskell, Elizabeth 288
 North and South 288
 Gembloux 204
 general passage 49, 56–7, 59
 Genesis, OT Bk 133, 215–16
 Gengulf, St 205
 Genoa 52, 53, 60–75, 104, 106, 107, 110–11, 116,
 118, 231
 Geoffrey of Auxerre 137
 Geoffrey of Rançon 91
 Geoffrey of Villehardouin 100, 114–15, 116,
 118, 231
 Geoffrey the Templar, almoner of Henry III 236,
 237
 George, St 243
 Gerald of Aurillac 206
 Gerannus of Auxerre 201, 202
 Gerard, Andrew, H 249
 Germanus of Auxerre, St 201
 Germany 29, 41–2, 96, 149, 197, 198, 206, 225,
 230
 and Second Crusade 84, 85, 86, 88, 91, 92, 94
 Gerone, martyr 200
 Gervadius, b 202
Gesta Francorum 26, 64, 83, 85
Gesta Innocentii III 97, 98, 100–1
 Gibbon, Edward 284
 Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire 284
 Gibelet 63, 75
 Gideon, OT 135
 Gilbert, b Lisbon 42
 Gilbert d'Assailly, H master 225
 Gilbert de Lacy 234
 Gilbert de Waleis, Sir 242
 Gilbert of Tournai 214–15
 Glaber, Rodulfus 198
 Glenelory 241
 Gluck, Christoph Willibald von 289
 Armide 289

- Godfrey of Bouillon 63, 69, 73, 104, 170, 283,
285
depicted in art and sculpture 282–3
in fictional accounts of FC 256, 269, 270, 271,
275, 276, 284, 285, 293
- Godfrey of St Pantaleon 122
- Godinus, canon of Bañols, superior of
monastery of St Vincent at Lisbon 43
- Godric of Finchale 185
- Goliath, OT 218
- Gormond of Piquigny, patriarch 105
- Grasso, Guglielmo 111
- Gratian 148, 153, 154, 155, 182, 185, 186–90, 193
Decretum 148, 153, 154, 155, 182, 185, 186–7,
190
Gravi de pugna, letter 176–8, 180, 184, 186
- Great Schism 54
- Greece 40, 230; *see also* Byzantium
- Greeks, and Odo of Deuil 80, 81, 84–90, 94
- Greek War of Independence 291
- Gregory of Tours 197
- Gregory VII, p 147, 178–9, 180–3, 184–5,
190
- Gregory VIII, p 184, 186
Audita tremendi 184, 186
- Gregory IX, p 153
Liber extra 153
- Gregory XI, p 250
- Gregory I (the Great), p 178, 180
- Grenoble, b 67
- Gudwal, St 203
- Gui, Bernard 157
vita of St Thomas Aquinas 157–9
- Guibert of Nogent 24–38, 134, 147, 268
- Guibert, St 204
- Guillaume de Nangis, Continuator of 159
- Gunther of Pairis 114
- Haeser, August Ferdinand 292
The Triumph of Faith 292
- hagiography 27, 29
- Haifa 60, 62–3, 65, 70, 73, 105
- Hainmar of Auxerre 201, 202
- Harenc (Harim) 188
- Hastings, battle of 181, 195
- Hattin, battle of 3
- Helena, St 162, 163
- Henry, b Moravia 88
- Henry, c Champagne 92
- Henry, c Portugal 41
- Henry VI, c 96
- Henry I, k England 242
- Henry II, k England 32, 234, 242
- Henry III, k England 235, 236–8, 243,
247
- Henry IV, k England 240, 243
- Henry II, k Germany 198
- Henry V, k Germany 91
- Henry of Cologne 43
- Henry of Louvain 115
- heretics 130, 131, 141, 187
crusaded against 4, 168, 190, 211
- Hicia, superior of monastery of St Vincent at
Lisbon 43
- Hiles, Henry 292
The Crusaders 293
- Hincmar, a Reims 195
- Historia ducum Veneticorum* 116
- historical novels, and history 255, 278–9
- History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*
119
- Hoban, Russell 261, 264
Pilgermann 264, 279
Riddley Walker 264
Turtle Diary 264
- Holt, Peter, prior of the Hospital in Ireland 239
- holy lance, discovery of 170
- Holy Land 2, 4–5, 23, 31, 34, 37, 61–79, 83, 99,
105, 108, 112, 114, 151, 152, 171–2, 187, 188–91,
242
and military orders 233–4, 246–7, 251
recovery of 49, 52
- Holy Roman Empire 110; *see also* individual
rulers
- holy war 6, 39, 75, 175–92, 207
- Honorius III, p 122
- Hospitallers, *see* Knights of the Hospital of
St John of Jerusalem
- Hostiensis, canonist 189
- Howden, church of St Peter 282
- Hrabanus Maurus 196
- Hugh, b Ossory 237
- Hugh, c St Pol 115
- Hugh of Meath 237
- Hugh of Vermandois 81, 83
- Hugh Revel, H master 247, 249
- Hugo, abbot of Sancta Maria at Constantinople
225–6
- Huguccio of Pisa 188–9
Summa decretorum 188, 189
- Humbert of Romans 157–74, 214
Contra hereticos 166
*Liber sive tractatus de predicacione crucis contra
Sarracenos infideles et paganos* 157–73
Opus tripartitum 163, 169
- Hundred Years War 52
- Hungary 40, 225, 228; *see also* individual rulers
prior of the Hospital in 231
- Hurley, Frank X. 263
The Crusader 263, 279

- Iberia 35, 59; *see also constituent states*
 crusades in 4
 Ibn al-Athīr 120
 Ibn al-Qalanisi 94
 Iconium 92
Illustrated London News 283
 Incarnation of the Word 133, 134, 135, 136,
 139–40, 144
 India 33
 indulgence, for crusade 4, 6, 46, 54, 55, 59, 68,
 72, 99, 162, 171, 172, 199
 Innocent III, p 61, 96–102, 116, 184, 190, 243
Quia maior 184, 190
Solita benignitatis affectu 98, 101
 Innocent IV, p 45
 Investiture Contest 193, 270
 Ireland 28, 33, 202, 204, 233–52
 Anglo-Cymro-Norman aristocracy of 235,
 245
 English royal administration in 235–42,
 244–51
 prior of the Hospital in 237–50
 priory of the Hospital in 234
 master of Templars in 237–45
 T commandery of 234
 Irwin, Robert 256, 260–4
 Isaac II Angelos, e Byzantium 98, 99, 101, 107,
 110, 111
 Isaiah, OT Bk 166
 Isidore of Seville 177, 186
 Israelites, as foil for crusaders 218
 Israel, salvation of 142–3, 144
 Istria 228
 Italy
 bankers from 45
 city-republics of 60–77
 crusaders from 57
 southern bishops of 183
 Ivo of Chartres, b 150, 153
Decretum 150, 153
 Jacques de Vitry 170
Historia transmarina 170
 Jaffa 62, 64, 72, 74, 79, 104
 treaty of (1191) 243
 Janus, k Cyprus 52–4
 Jean II le Meingre, Marshal Boucicaut 52–4,
 58
 Jeremiah, OT Bk 166
 Jericho 161
 Jerome, St 137, 148, 178
Book of Interpretation of Hebrew Names 137
 Jerusalem 63, 65, 70, 71, 72–3, 109, 222,
 225–9
 as shrine 31, 32–8
 as target of crusades 6, 14, 29, 67, 96, 112, 119,
 121, 190, 191, 199
 besieged by FC 62, 64, 75, 76, 104, 151, 170,
 228
 capture of, in fictional accounts of FC 255,
 270
 eschatological role of 127
 fall of, to Saladin 105, 127, 170, 188
 Holy Sepulchre 26, 29, 33, 65, 67–9, 71, 72–4,
 78, 83, 228, 243, 285
 in OT 165
 occupied by Muslims before 1099 23, 25, 26,
 184
 pilgrimage to 73–6, 83, 212–15, 233, 243
 pilgrim hospice 227
 Temple of the Lord 74
 Jerusalem, kdm 60–79, 108, 187, 227, 243; *see also*
individual rulers
 commercial privileges in 60, 62, 78
 Jews 216–19, 221
 and Joachim of Fiore 127–46
 attacks on during crusades 57
 fictional accounts of attacks on during FC
 263, 264–5, 271, 274
 in England 247
 in southern Italy 130
 persecution of 129, 146
 Joachim of Fiore 127–46
Adversus Iudeos 129, 131–46
Expositio in Apocalypsim 131–3, 137
Liber de Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti
 131
Psalterium decem chordarum 131
 John, c Nevers 57
 John de Frowyck, prior of the Hospital in
 Ireland 239, 250
 John du Bois 247
 John II, e Byzantium 108
 John, k England 100, 101, 235, 243
 John II, k France 57
 John of Gaunt 55
 John of Joinville, in fictional accounts of
 crusades 273
 John VIII, p 198–9, 207
 John XXII, p 49–51, 159
 John, St, Gospel of 138
 First Letter of 166
 John the Baptist 73, 143
 John the Deacon 118
 John Vatatzes, Greek e 231
 Jordan, river 73, 74
 Joscelin, lord of Tiberias 281
 Joseph de Chauncy, H 238
 Joshua, OT 161
 Joshua, OT Bk 161

- Judges, OT Bk 135
 Judith, OT Bk 165
 just war 28, 70, 161, 175–92, 195, 202,
 207–8
- Kalojan, ruler of Bulgaria 101
Kaphoures, Genoese 'pirate' 111
 Keightley, Thomas 282
*The Crusaders or Scenes, Events and Characters
 from the Times of the Crusades* 282
- Keilah, OT city 166
 Kerbogha, Turkish commander 66
 Kilbarry, Waterford diocese, T house at
 234
 Kilmainham, prior of 234
 Kings, 1st Bk (OT) 166
 Kings, 2nd Bk (OT) 161
 Kinnamos, John 94, 109
 Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem
 1–3, 6, 9, 25, 152–6, 225–32
 Convent in Syria 2, 230, 234
 Convent of Rhodes 240, 249–50
 in fictional accounts of crusades 277
 in Ireland 233–51
 militarization of 2, 227
 pilgrim hospices run by 232
 responsions due from 249–50
 Knights of the Holy Sepulchre 285
 Knights Templar 9, 90, 152–6, 157, 185, 191, 227,
 230, 231, 233
 Convent in Syria 234
 in Ireland 233–51
 trial of 245
- Kolybas, Sergios 110
 Komnenos, Alexios, *protosebastos* 109
 Komnenos, Isaac 110
 Kontostephanos, Andronikos 109
 Kotzebue, August von 287
Die Kreuzfahrer 287
- labarum*, vision of 176
 La-Chapelle-Aude 81
 Lactantius 207
Divinae Institutiones 207
 La Garde-Freinet 206
 Lamb, Harold 262–3
The Crusades: Iron Men and Saints 262
- Lamego, b 43
 Languedoc 221, 226
 Laodicea 62–3, 69
 Larcher, Hugh, H 249
 Larcher, John, prior of the Hospital in Ireland
 239, 244, 249
 Lascar, Martine 270, 271
Jérusalem fiancée des gueux 270, 279
- Latin East 2–3, 4, 6, 7, 60, 61, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77,
 79, 95, 152, 228; *see also* Cyprus, Holy Land,
 kdm Jerusalem, Latin Syria
 Latin Syria 2
 Lawhead, Stephen 277
The Iron Lance 277, 279
 lay subsidies, for crusade 46, 57
 Lebuin, St 197
 Lech, battle of the 202
 Leguineche, Manuel 272
*El Viaje Prodigioso: 900 años de la primera
 cruzada* 272, 279
- Leinster 241
 Leonard de Tibertis, prior of the Hospital in
 England 238
 Leo IV, p 198–9
 Leo IX, p 178
 Leo I (the Great), p 154
Liber Albus, Venetian text 114
Liber Pactorum, Venetian text 114
 Lido, monk of 66, 76
 Limassol 227
 Lisbon 39–44
 St Mary *ad martyres*, church of 42
 St Vincent, monastery of 41, 42–3
 Lisbon letter 39, 42
Literary Gazette 290, 291
 Lombard, Peter 139, 185
Sentences 185
 Lombards 196
 London, Great Exhibition in (1851) 283–4
 Longinus, St 163
 Lorraine 33
 Lot, OT 215
 Louis, c Blois 100
 Louis, d Bourbon 52
 Louis VI, k France 82, 91
 Louis VII, k France 40, 80–95, 225–6
 Louis VIII, k France 211, 221
 Louis IX, k France 45, 52, 117, 118, 211, 243
 in fictional account of crusades 273
 Lukacs, Georg 259, 260
 Luke, English H 247
 Luke, St, Gospel of 143, 144, 180, 216
 Lusitania, *see* Portugal
 Lyons, b 157
- Maccabees, OT Bks 165
 Maccabees, and crusaders 66, 72, 165, 176
 MacKay, Charles 283
*Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions
 and the Madness of Crowds* 283
- Mâconnais 8
 Maeander valley 92, 93
 Magyars 178

- Mainz, pontifical of 182, 185
 Majorca 29
 Mamluk sultanate 47, 49, 59
 Manegold of Lautenbach 186
 Manicheans 178
 Mansuetus, St, shrine of at Toul 33
 Manşūrah 121
 Manuel I Comnenus (Comnenos, Komnenos), c
 Byzantium 81, 86, 88, 89, 91, 99, 101, 106–7,
 108–10, 225–30, 232
 Marculf, St 204
 Margaritus of Brindisi 110
 Margat 227
 Mark, St 79
 Marmara, Sea of 110–11
 Marshal, Richard 236, 237, 242
 Martin of Pairis 191
 Martin of Tours, St 163, 201
 martyrdom, and crusading 42, 43, 175
 Marxist interpretations of FC 18
 Mary, Blessed Virgin 134, 139
 Mary Magdalene 163
 Mary of Oignies 163
 Mason, Frank van Wyk 262–3
 Silver Leopard 262–3, 279
 Mastropiero, Orio, doge 105, 112
 Mathilda de Lacy 234
 Matthew, St, Gospel of 166
 Matthieu de Montmorency 231
 Mauro, nobleman 227
 Maximian, Roman c 200
 Maximilian the Conscript 200
 Mediterranean Sea 6, 34
 Meletus, Orthodox Greek a Gaza 229
 Menendus, canon of Bañols and superior of
 monastery of St Vincent at Lisbon 43
 Mercamston, Thomas, H 241
 mercenaries 28
 Mesopotamia 40
 Messiah 134, 140–1
 Messina 128, 225
 Metz 33, 91
 Michiel, Domenico, doge 105
 Michiel, Giovanni 65, 68, 75, 76, 104
 Michiel, Pietro 108
 Michiel, Vitale I, doge 104
 Michiel, Vitale II, doge 106, 108
 Milan 67, 200
 military orders 9, 152–6, 229–30, 231, 233–52;
 see also Knights of the Hospital of St John
 of Jerusalem, Knights Templar
milites Christi, crusaders as 43, 65, 66, 72, 73, 74,
 147, 185
 millenarians 129
 Mills, Charles 256, 281–93
 Milo, b Théroutanne 42
 Milo de Courtenay 281
 miracles 42–3, 66, 172, 178
Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour 28
Miracles of St Benedict 36, 203
Miracles of St Donation 28
Miracles of St Faith 34
Miracles of St Giles 29, 36
Miracles of St William of Norwich 33
 miracle stories, as evidence 13, 25–38
Miracula Sancti Bertini 203
 monasteries, donations to 17
 monastic charters, as evidence 7, 14–15, 24, 25,
 30
 Monthléry, family 8
 Montpellier 226
 Moors, crusaded against 4
 Morea, Principality of the 230
 Moryz, John 239
 Moses, OT 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 142, 145, 179,
 181, 203
 Most Venerable Order of St John 3
 Mount Cadmus, battle of 90, 91, 92, 93
 Muggia 121
 Muhammad 166–9, 170
 Myra 63, 64, 76
 Myriokephalon, battle of 109

 Nabal, OT 219–21
 Nabor, martyr 200
 Narbonne 226
 Navarino 230
naves (sailing ships) and use on crusade 103,
 114–19
 Neil O'Neil 239
 Neokastro 230
 Nicaea 231
 in fictional accounts of FC 288
 second council of (787) 153
 Nicholas de Clere 245, 248
 Nicholas, St, b Myra 63, 64, 65, 76
 Nile Delta 48, 121, 122
 Nile, river 122
 al-Faramā' branch and mouth 122
 Damietta branch and mouth 122
 Rosetta branch and mouth 120, 122
 Nithard 197
 Noblat 33
 Normandy 41, 109, 178, 183
 Norway 105
 Norwich 33
 Nūr ed-Dīn (Nūr-ad-Dīn) 40, 112, 188

 Odo of Cambrai 134, 139
 Odo of Canterbury 203

- Odo of Cluny, St 204, 206
Life of St Gerald of Aurillac 204, 206
 Odo of Deuil 80–95
Odyssey, the 35
 Oldenbourg, Zoé 260, 261, 265–6
La joie-suffrance 266
Le procès du rêve 266
Que nous est Hécube 266
The Heirs of the Kingdom (La joie des pauvres) 265, 279
The World is Not Enough (Argile et cendres) 265–6
 Old Testament, and crusading 66, 72, 176–8;
see also individual books
Oliva, sailing ship 116
 O'Mores, family 234
 Orange, b 67
 oriflamme 83, 91
 Otto, d Brunswick 101
 Outlaw (Utlagh), Roger, prior of the Hospital in
 Ireland 238, 241–2, 249
 Oz, Amos 260, 264, 271
Crusade 264, 279

 pacifism 206, 207
Pactum Warmundi 78, 105
 Palestine 1, 7, 63, 77, 233
 Palmarea, council of 94, 95
 Pantaleone, nobleman 228
 Paphos, b 111
Paradissus, sailing ship 116
 Paris 189, 190
 university of 157, 158
parvum passagium 48, 53
 Paschal II, p 67
passagium particulare 50–1, 52, 53, 56
pastoureux (1320) 56–7
 Patarene heretics 141
 Paul, St 128, 138, 142, 145, 146
 First Letter to the Corinthians 138, 166
 Letter to the Ephesians 166
 Letter to the Hebrews 179
 Letter to the Romans 180
 Second Letter to Timothy 180
 peace movement 149, 172
 Pelagius, superior of monastery of St Vincent
 at Lisbon 43
 Peloponnese 89, 230
 penitentials, Carolingian 194
Penitentiary of Bede 194
 Pentateuch 176
 Pepin III, k 196, 201
 Pera 232
 church of St John the Baptist 232
Peregrina, sailing ship 116
 Pergamon 230
 Peter I, k Cyprus 53
 Peter of Blois 140
 Peters, Ellis 275–6, 277
 A Morbid Taste for Bones 275, 279
 A Rare Benedictine 276, 279
 Brother Cadfael's Penance 275, 279
 The Pilgrim of Hate 275, 279
 The Virgin in the Ice 275, 279
 Peter, St 163, 180, 183, 185, 199
 First Letter of 180
 Second Letter of 166
 Peter the Chanter 189, 190
 Peter the Hermit 170–2
 in fictional accounts of the FC 273, 274, 278,
 289–90
 Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny 88, 134, 145
Petrus dictus Alamannus, H 225–7, 232
 Peyramaure, Michel 271
 La croix et le royaume 271, 280
 Les étendards du Temple 271
 Philip II (Augustus), k France 96, 100, 170
 Philip de Cabassole, cardinal 158
 Philip de Stafford, H 249
 Philip, d Swabia 96–101
 Philip I, k France 180
 Philip VI, k France 51–2, 56, 159
 Philip II, k Spain 59
 Philip of Nablus, T master 227
 Philip of Novara 118
 Philippe de Mézières 53
 Songe du vieil pèlerin 53
 Philip, St 163
 Philip the Bold, d Burgundy 52, 58
 Philip IV (the Fair), k France 46, 51, 243
 Philistines, OT 218
Pietro l'Eremita 289–90, 291
 Pilate, Pontius, OT 140
 pilgrimage 4, 6, 17, 19, 32–6, 43, 62, 65, 69, 73–6,
 77, 83, 112, 116, 150, 184
 Pisa 61, 62–3, 65, 67, 70, 75, 104, 105–6, 107,
 110–11, 123
 Poitiers 85
 Poitou 81
 Portugal 40, 44, 53
 Powderham Castle, nr Exeter 281
 Prague 228
 Prémontré, Order of 43
primum passagium 49, 51
 privileges, granted to crusaders 171
privilegium fori 154
 prophecy 130, 140, 141, 196
 Provence 206, 225
 Proverbs, OT Bk 138, 166
 Prussia 45, 243

- Psalms, OT Bk 133, 138, 176
 Pseudo-Isidore 153, 154
 Qilich Arslan, s 109
 Querini, Ottavio 108
 Qur'an 168
 Raganfridus 202
 Ralph of Southwark, T master in Ireland 237, 245
 Ranke, Leopold von 257, 258
 Raol, priest 39, 42
 Raphael, angel 143
 Rappe, Claude 269
 Dieu le veut! 269, 280
 Godefroy de Bouillon: l'héritier maudit 269
 Raymond V, c Toulouse 226
 Raymond III, c Tripoli 269
 Raymond of Aguilers 64, 84, 163, 170
 Raymond of Le Bousquet 34–5, 37
 Raymond of Saint-Gilles, in fictional accounts of FC 266, 269, 270, 277, 284
 Raymond, prince of Antioch 85
Reconquista 45
 Regensburg 86, 88
 Reginald, prior of Durham 185
 Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremitae de Finchale 185
 Regino of Prüm 194
 Ecclesiastical Discipline 194
Reisen, against Lithuanians 45
Relatio de translatione S. Vincentii martyris 40
 relics 62, 72, 75–7
 Rhodes 53, 63, 71, 104, III, 227, 232, 240, 244, 249
 Richard de Werkely, prior of the Hospital in Ireland 239
 Richard, earl of Cornwall 243
 Richard I, k England 96, 128, 170, 242
 Richard II, k England 55, 243
 Richartinger, Lienhart 58
 Rigobert of Reims 202
 Rivelle, Stephen J. 272
 A Booke of Days 272, 280
 Robert, c Flanders 29, 73
 Robert de la Maystre, H 234
 Robert de Normanton, H 250
 Robert, d Normandy, in fictional accounts of FC 275
 Robert Guiscard, d 183
 Robert of Ashton 241
 Robert of Clari 114–17
 Robert of Courson 189, 190
 Summa 189
 Robert of Dreux 92
 Robert of Reims (Robert the Monk) 24, 147, 149, 183–4
 Rocamadour 32
Roccafortis, sailing ship 117
 Roger de Veer, prior of the Hospital in England 246
 Roger, Jan 277
 The True Lance 277–8, 280
 Roger II, k Sicily 88–9
 Roger le Wales, T master in Ireland 237, 245
 Roger of Barneville 281
 Roger of Deuil 81
 Roger, Pierre, see Clement VI, p
 Rohard, priest, superior of monastery of St Vincent at Lisbon 42
 Roland 162
 Roman empire 177; see also individual emperors
 Roman law 148
 Rome 32–3, 146, 199
 as seat of papacy 86
 pilgrimage to 206
 St Peter's basilica 198
 synods at (1078–80) 181, 184
 Vatican 198
 Rossini, Gioachino Antonio 289
 Armide 248
 Mose in Egitto 289
 Rouen, a 159
 Rupert of Deutz 143, 145
 Rusticus, b Narbonne 154
 Sabellianism, heresy 133
 Safad, castle 157
 St Albans 201
 St Alloch, Wexford, church of 234
 St Congal, Clontarf, T house 234
 Saint-Denis 32, 33, 81, 82–4, 87, 91
 Saintes 29
 Saint-Gilles 226
 St Martin at Laon, abbey of 43
 St Maurice d'Againe, abbey of 200
 saints' lives, as evidence 199–207
 St Vincent in Voltorno, abbey 196
 Saladin, s 96, 105, III, 112–13, 119, 127, 170, 188, 242
 Salericus, superior of monastery of St Vincent at Lisbon 43
 Salerno 229
 Samer 203
 Sampson, St, Order of 231
 Samuel, 1st bk (OT) 218–19
Sancta Maria, sailing ship 117
 Santa Cruz, canons of 42
 'Saracens' 26, 35, 36, 40–1, 131, 164, 166–9, 189, 206, 218

- Sarah, wife of Abraham OT 215
 Sara, wife of Tobias OT 143
 Saul, OT 218
 Saxons 197, 201, 204
 Schiltberger, Johann 58
 schismatics, crusaded against 4
 Scotland 202, 233–4, 241, 243
 Scott, Sir Walter 256, 259, 261, 283–5,
 292
 Count Robert of Paris 256, 283
 Essay on Chivalry 284
 The Talisman 292
 Second Crusade 7, 29, 44, 45–59, 80–95, 127
 Seljuk Türks, of Iconium 87, 89, 183
 Sens 226
 Serbia 228
 Sestos 111
 Severus, Sulpicius 201
 Shirkūh, Kurdish commander 112
 Sicilian Vespers, War of 49
 Sicily 226, 243
 kdm of 85, 89, 96, 110, 116; *see also individual*
 rulers
 Sidon 105, 119
 Sigebert, St, shrine of at Metz 33
 Simonis, Louis-Eugène 283
 Siphantos, 'pirate' 109
 Skirlaw, Walter 54
 Slavs, crusaded against 4
 Smyrna 57, 159
 Soissons, b 116
Sone de Nansay, adventure romance 251–2
 Sovereign Military Order of Malta 3
 Spain 36–7, 40–1, 44, 198, 206
 church in 45
 Spohr, Louis 288
 Die Kreuzfahrer 288
 Stadler, Maximilian 292
 Jerusalem Delivered 292
 Stanley, John 239
 Steinberg, Theodore 260–2
Steiriones, John, 'pirate' 111
 Stephen, b Clermont 206
 Stephen de Fulbourn, H 238, 241, 245, 246–8
 Stephen, k England 28
 Stephen of Lisbon 39
 Stephen of Perche 116
 Stigand, William 285–6
 Athenais, or the First Crusade 285
 The Vision of Barbarossa 285
 Stryphnos, Michael 111
 Styria 228
 Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis 80, 81–4, 85, 87
 Gesta Ludovici Grossi 82
 Suwaidiyah 62
 Sybel, Heinrich von 257
 Syria 1, 7, 40, 92, 113, 227–9, 233
 Talmud 129
 Tancred 66, 69
 in fictional accounts of FC 262, 276
 Tancred, c Lecce 110
 Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians 197
 Tasso, Torquato 256, 281, 283, 286–7, 288, 291,
 292
 Gerusalemme Liberata 256–9, 281, 287, 288
 Templars, *see* Knights Templar
 Tessier, Pierre 50
 Tetragrammaton 128, 133
 Teutonicus, Johannes 155
 Glossa ordinaria 155
 Thames, river, H mills on 247
 Tharasia, q 41
 'Theban Legion' 200
 Theodore, a, *Penitential* of 150
 Thessalonike 109
 Thibaut, c Champagne 100
 Thibaux, Jean-Michel 266
 Les âmes brulantes 266, 280
 Thierry, c Flanders 92
 Thietmar of Merseburg 198
 Third Crusade 96, 105–6, 107, 114, 119, 127–8,
 170, 242, 291
 third *status*, in eschatological thought of Joachim
 of Fiore 127
 Thomas, d Lancaster 240
 Thomas, Peter 57
 Thomas, St, apostle 143
 Thomas the Archdeacon 115
 Thrace 40
 Tigernach, St 203
 Tillo, St 200
Times, The 291
 Tobias, OT 143
 Tornikios, Demetrios 108
 Torsello, Marino Sanudo 47–59
 Liber secretorum fidelium crucis 47–9, 56
 Tortosa (Spain) 44
 Tortosa (Syria) 63, 66, 74
 Toulousain 34
 Touraine, d 52
trésor du saint passage 52
 Trieste 121
 Trinity, Christian doctrine of 132, 133–9,
 143–4
 Troyes, b 116
 Tughtigin, atabeg of Damascus 188
 Tūlūnids, of Egypt 117
 Tunis, Louis IX's crusade to, *see* crusade, second
 of Louis IX

- Turks 25, 65–6, 114, 172, 188, 274
 and Second Crusade 80, 91, 92–3
 of Anatolia 47, 59
 'Turlanda' 34
 Turpin, letter of 171
 Typasius, St 200
 Tyre 78, 105, 227
- Udalric, b Augsburg 202
uissiers (horse transport galleys), and use on
 crusade 103, 114–18, 121–2
- Ulster 241
- Urban II, p 6, 61, 62, 65, 67, 75, 97, 104, 147–8,
 149, 150, 169, 171–3, 207–8
 in fictional accounts of FC 270
 sermon at Clermont 21–3, 25, 37, 160, 163,
 169, 171–3, 183; *see also* Clermont,
 council of
- Urban III, p 105
- Urban V, p 249
- Valencia 40, 41
- Varennes 206
- Vegetius 196
- Velasco, María Antonia 272
- vendetta, as theme in crusading 6, 9, 29, 84,
 93
- Venice 56, 60–79, 102, 103–22
Sala dello Scrutinio, in doges' palace 105
- Verdi, Giuseppe 291
I Lombardi alla prima crociata 291
- vexillum beati Petri* 78
- Victor IV, anti-pope 226
- Vikings 178, 201, 203
- Villani, Matteo 159
- Vincent, St 202
 relics of 39–41, 202
- Viola, sailing ship 116
- virī spirituales*, in eschatological thought of
 Joachim of Fiore 128, 132
- Visigoths 198
- visions, in crusading context 66
- Vita Lebuini* 197
- Vitalis, Orderic 85
- Voghera 206
- Walerand de Wales 237
- Wales 233–4, 240, 245
- Walter de Fulbourn 247, 248
- Walter of St Maurice, superior of monastery of
 St Vincent at Lisbon 43
- Walter the Chancellor 84
- Waterford
 'new custom of' 237
see of 247
- White, Richard, prior of the Hospital in Ireland
 239, 246, 250
- White, Robert, prior of the Hospital in Ireland
 240
- Wiffen, Jeremiah Holmes 281
- William, c Maçon 92
- William de Barry, Sir 242
- William de Middleton 247
- William de Ros, prior of the Hospital in Ireland
 238, 241
- William de Tany, prior of the Hospital in Ireland
 239, 249, 250
- William, H in Ireland (1290) 242
- William I, k England and d Normandy 180, 195
- William I, k Sicily 225–6
- William of Canterbury 28
- William of Malmesbury 90
- William of Saint-Denis 83
- William of Tyre 95, 105, 108, 109, 112, 119, 153,
 170, 187, 188, 257, 282
Chronicon 187–8
 in fictional accounts of FC 292
- Willibald, biographer of St Boniface 197
- Wogan, John 241
- Wogan, Sir Thomas 244
- World*, sailing ship 116
- Zachary, OT 143–4
- Zara 102, 104, 118, 121
- Zechariah, OT Bk 165
- Zengi, atabeg of Mosul 40

